Motor Racing British Grand Prix

Hill dents his reputation

Richard Williams

THE WAR between Michael Schumacher and Damon Hill erupted again on Sunday. Conducted in rancorous verbal exchanges throughout the build-up to the British Grand Prix, it reached a predictably lurid climax when a collision eliminated both men as they were fighting for the lead of the race.

Nearing the end of the 46th of the race's 60 laps, exactly threequarters of the way through an absorbing race, they were locked in what should have been the final struggle for victory when Hill attempted to overtake Schumacher, diving for the inside on the approach to Priory Corner, a 90-degree left-hander. But he had not made enough ground when his rival, who had taken a wide line, turned into the corner.

Smoke poured from Hill's tyres as he locked his brakes in an attempt to avoid the impact, but it was too late. The Englishman's Williams hit the German's Benetton amidships and both cars gyrated off into the sand traps, where they were stranded.

The drivers got out and walked back to the pits. They did not speak to each other but were not slow to unburden themselves to third parties. Usually such incidents — think of Senna versus Prost or Mansell versus Senna — are subject to many conflicting interpretations, and the arguments go on for years. Not this time. Sadly for the fans at Hill's home grand prix, the blame rested squarely with him. But, facing the failure to win the race, as he had hoped, for the second year in succession, he was not anxious to accept the responsibility.

"It was a racing accident," he said, using the phrase reserved by drivers for no-fault incidents committed in the heat of battle. Well, it was certainly a race. And there was definitely an accident. But that is about it. "I thought I saw an opportunity to go through, but Michael is a harder man to pass than that. I'm very disappointed for the fans and the Williams team. But the championship is still wide open and we've shown that we can compete against Michael Schumacher."

The world champion is sometimes accused of arrogance, perhaps justifiably, but on this occasion his own comments deserved widespread sympathy — which was apparently less than they received from the stewards of the meeting, who saw fit to issue severe reprimands to both drivers, and warn them that further incidents would be punished. This refusal to apportion blame mystified many observers, who were left to assume that the sport's governors are anxious to put an end to the feud between the two.

"What Hill did was totally unnecessary," Schumacher said. "I didn't expect him to come through. I'm very angry with him. I don't know what he was trying to do. It was a stupid thing to do, to spoil such a nice race. I realise that he wanted to win his home grand prix very badly, but he should have tried to stay a little calmer."

It was unworthy of Hill, who usually thinks before he speaks, to hint that Schumacher's driving might have contributed to an accident begun and ended by his own impetuosity. Such a rash misjudgment, in much more forgivable circumstances, brought the two of them together at Adelaide last November, in the final race of the 1994 season, but on that occasion Hill's instinct to overtake when Schumacher lost control and damaged his car was foiled by what many saw as a calculated blocking manoeuvre by the German, who won the championship by a single point as a result.

In Adelaide, Hill was called upon to react to unforeseen circumstances and, in retrospect, chose the wrong option. This time he was the instigator, although his rival will know that there could have been nothing malevolent in his attempt to overtake, since — unlike Schumacher in Australia — he stood to make no profit from putting them both out of the race.

The accident could best be seen as the inevitable outcome of a fortnight of undignified hype as the two men battle for supremacy in the post-Senna era. Generated by Schumacher's debatable criticism of Hill's tactics during the French Grand Prix, this particular episode of the quarrel was continued by Hill's ill-mannered "clone" remark in a Radio Times interview and sustained by further intemperate exchanges until they both declared an end to the slanging match on arrival at Silverstone. But that truce is now in tatters.

First at last . . . Johnny Herbert is hoisted on the shoulders of Jean Alesi (left) and David Coulthard after winning the British Grand Prix at Silverstone PHOTOGRAPH STEVE ETHERINGTON

Herbert takes the main prize

Alan Henry at Silverstone

THE capacity crowd of 90,000 anticipating a home victory at Silverstone on Sunday were rewarded from an unlikely quarter when Johnny Herbert finally won a Formula One race at his 71st attempt. It was Benetton's first British Grand Prix victory and Williams's first setback in their home race since Alain Prost won for Ferrari in 1990.

It was also a timely triumph for Herbert at a time when rumours had circulated that he was about to be replaced at Benetton by the Dutch driver Jos Verstappen.

Damon Hill and Michael Schumacher were picking their way gingerly out of a gravel trap after their controversial collision when Herbert guided the second Benetton into the lead. Two laps later David Coulthard forced his Williams FW17 into the lead, only to be ordered in for a 10sec penalty for exceeding the pitlane speed limit.

While Herbert may have been an unlikely winner of the race it turned out to be a well merited success for the 31-year-old.

"It is a fantastic feeling for me, especially as it is my home grand prix," he said. "The support today was fantastic and I really understand what Nigel and Damon mean when they talk about it. It really has been a long hard slog for me.

"I thank my wife, who has supported me all the way through since 1988, when I had an accident, Peter Collins [managing director of the now-defunct Lotus team] who has got me into F1 twice, and Flavio Briatore for giving me this drive this year."

Herbert's Benetton was never out of the top six at Silverstone. He completed the opening lap in fifth place, hot on the heels of Jean Alesi's Ferrari, Schumacher and Coulthard. After his first pitstop at the end of lap 21 Herbert had moved up to third place and, when the Schumacher-Hill dust settled, he surged through into the lead of a grand prix for the first time in his career.

The Benetton No 2 found himself relieved of added pressure from Alesi as the Ferrari's oil pressure began to fade in the closing stages and the Frenchman was radioed to ease back.

Coulthard emerged from his stop-go penalty to finish third. Mark Blundell's McLaren-Mercedes looked on course for fourth place until rammed by Rubens Barrichello's Jordan. The Brazilian spun off but Blundell limped home fifth, running on three tyres and a wheel-rim, dropping a place to Olivier Panis's Ligier in the final mile of the race.

Like Hill and Schumacher, both Blundell and Barrichello ended the day with a severe reprimand from the race stewards.

Cryptic crossword by Pasquale

Across

9 Boundary where you find G,B,D? (9)
10 See artist err badly with what's less well done (5)
11 For US holiday spot take cycle garment and a dictionary (4,3)
12 Through which member passes in process of dressing (7)
13 Bird, one escaping electronic device (4)
14 Learn about booze in B & B — but there's minimal food (10)
15 Figure in pain no end after 31 days reduction (7)
17 Boat caught in material at sea, start of emergency (7)
19 What pushy insurance sales rep wants to offer cricketer (5,5)
22 Command that usually comes with call from stream (4)
23 Team expected to win most often is beefy (7)
24 Flood once more returns — then there's divine Sun (7)
26 The ultimate in fashion, only liable to run? (5)
27 Meal service provided by pub deters drunk staying outside (6,3)

Down

1 Settles domestically and throws in a personal wine supply? (7,4,4)
2 Advice to dawdler is potent when blasted out (4,2,2)
3 Tropical swimmer sounding like one disabled (4)
4 Fellow defyn' public official (8)
5 Girl would come in an upset state (6)
6 One looking pained and stern needing special care (8)
7 Rum loo's frightful decoration (6)
8 Meals spuriously 'risk-free' having bad fats mixed in (5,10)
16 Difficulties with reading — minimum of time and inclination (8)
17 Domestic task is punishing, the French male admitted (8)
18 Cavers injured — some hollow fissure (8)
20 Drink made from fruit — it's served up initially for one (6)
21 Ham possibly finished before the party (6)
25 Old man at the paper's silver on top (4)

Last week's solution

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Croatia and Serbs clash over Krajina

Julian Borger in Zagreb

ATTEMPTS by United Nations mediators to avert a confrontation between the Croatian army and Serb rebels in north-west Bosnia were brushed aside on Monday as the rebels reneged on promises to withdraw from the Bihac enclave and Serb reinforcements from eastern Bosnia were reported to be moving towards Croatian positions.

A front-line meeting between Croatian and Serb commanders scheduled for Monday afternoon was cancelled by Zagreb.

UN observers in the besieged Bosnian area of Bihac reported that Serb rebel troops had remained there, despite an undertaking given to UN negotiators on Sunday by Serb separatist leaders in Croatia.

"We have found no significant withdrawal and certainly no withdrawal of heavy weapons or equipment," said Major Ole Reith, a Danish officer in the UN Bihac garrison. "A maximum 500 soldiers, out of several thousand that originally came in, have left. This could just be redeployment, or even rotation."

Serb separatists have used Krajina, the Croatian region they control, as a base for attacks on Bosnian government troops in Bihac, triggering the Croatian army's counter-attack in south-west Bosnia in support of its allies in Sarajevo.

More than 10,000 Croatian troops captured the Bosnian Serb towns of Glamoc and Grahovo on Friday last week, and UN officials said they appeared to be pressing on with the offensive, shelling the outskirts of Knin, the Krajina Serb headquarters.

UN sources feared the Serb offer to withdraw from Bihac had been a ploy to buy time for reinforcements to arrive from eastern Bosnia. Rebel troops were reported to be heading towards Croatian concentrations around Grahovo and Glamoc on Monday.

The Bosnian Serb commander, General Ratko Mladic, arrived in the area to direct the counter-attack, and both towns subsequently came under heavy Serb fire.

The Serb offer to withdraw from Bihac was rejected by the Croatian president, Franjo Tudjman. Croatian troops have intervened in Bosnia ostensibly in support of Bihac, seen in Zagreb as a bulwark against the creation of a Greater Serbia on Croatia's borders. But President Tudjman has said he will not call off his forces until the Krajina Serbs agree to the region's reintegration into Croatia.

The UN special envoy to the region, Yasushi Akashi, wrote to President Tudjman on Monday urging him to negotiate with the Krajina Serbs, but Croatian preparations for war have continued unabated. Eight élite brigades have been deployed along the western edge of Krajina and inside Bosnia, along with special police units, which Croatia has used in the past to storm enemy defences.

Four infantry reserve brigades were mobilised in the Zagreb area and western military sources said attack helicopters were seen being armed with missiles at the military base near Zagreb airport.

Diplomatic and western military sources say the Croatian army is supremely confident of its ability to overrun Krajina and is urging President Tudjman to give his consent.

Western military experts believe the Croatian army could probably defeat the thinly-stretched Krajina Serb forces, but at the risk of high casualties. Even after a victory, observers say, Zagreb would have to reach a power-sharing compromise with Serbs.

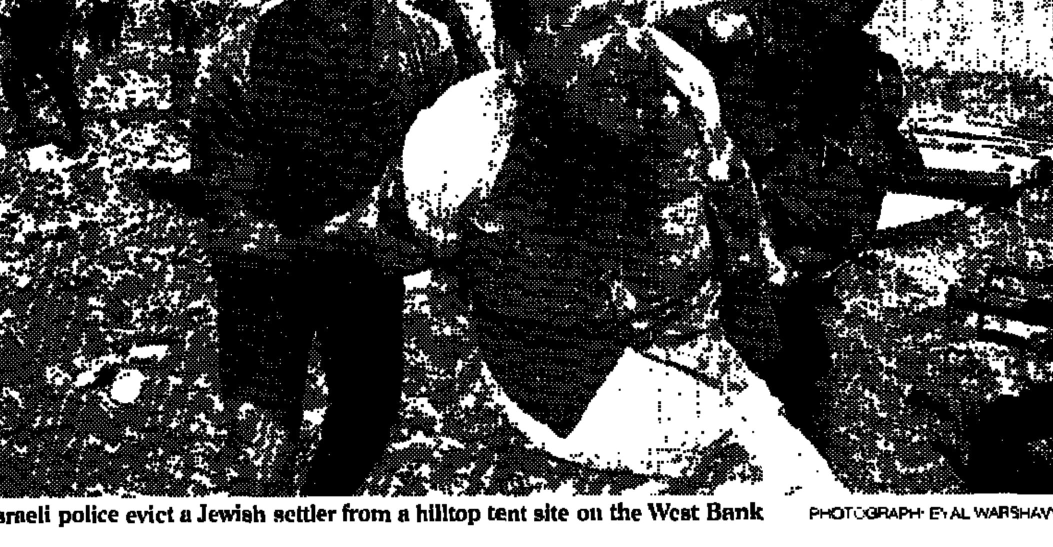
Ed Vulliamy in Sarajevo adds: The Bosnian Serb rebel leader, Radovan Karadzic, on Monday offered to reopen two precarious westerly routes through Serbian lines to Sarajevo "without any problems".

The proposal follows a week of entrenchment by British and French UN troops trying to secure a third, south-westerly, passage over Mount Igman, vulnerable to Serb shelling but controlled by the Bosnian army. Mr Karadzic's proposal was greeted with caution by UN officials and dismissed by the Bosnian government.

Cold comfort for Bihac, page 3
Martin Woollacott, page 10



Bosnian Serb refugees who fled Croatian attacks RADIVOJE PAVICIC



Israeli police evict a Jewish settler from a hilltop tent site on the West Bank PHOTOGRAPH: EYAL WARSHAVSKY

West Bank protests grow

Susan Sappir

THOUSANDS of Israelis protested against their government's peace talks with the PLO on Monday, marching through Tel Aviv with Israeli flags, torches and posters with pictures of Israeli victims of Arab violence.

The demonstration highlighted a campaign by Jewish settlers against the widening of Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank.

Israeli and PLO negotiators are holding marathon talks on this issue in the southern Israeli port of Eilat.

An Israeli negotiator said a long-overdue agreement on the West Bank could be worked out in two or three weeks.

Police earlier evicted hundreds of settlers from a protest encampment on the West Bank hilltop of Al-Khader near Bethlehem after the two sides played cat-and-mouse for most of the day. Some 170 settlers were arrested.

Setting up tent sites is the latest campaign by the settlers, who oppose the Israeli-PLO talks and are trying to undermine them, saying the occupied lands are the Jews' biblical heritage. — *Reuter*

French police in Métro bomb swoop

Paul Webster in Paris

POLICE have swamped immigrant areas of Paris after last week's Métro bombing, stopping at least 25,000 people for random identity checks and arresting more than 100 as illegal immigrants.

The climate of suspicion has been reinforced by the publication on Sunday of photofit pictures of three men of Arab appearance being sought in connection with the bombing, prompting more than 100 calls to police on Monday.

The daily newspaper Libération refused to publish them because they reinforced suspicion of the country's big north African population. Since the attack, detectives have concentrated on seeking links with Algerian Muslim extremists.

The decision to publish the drawings was made by Jean-Louis Debré, the interior minister, and Jean-François Ricard, the examining magistrate.

The pictures, however, reinforce claims that three north African men were acting suspiciously just before the bomb went off at Saint-Michel Métro station near Notre-Dame cathedral. Seven people died in the blast and more than 60 were injured.

A teenager doing military service in the police said he travelled opposite two men speaking Arabic and French who got off the train at Châtelet, the stop before Saint-Michel. He claimed that they had been carrying a packet wrapped in sacking and a sports bag.

Police confirmed that they were examining a sports bag found in the wreckage to see if it had contained the bomb. The young policeman had given a description of only one man. Police are comparing this with a second portrait of a north African said to have been sitting on the seat under which the bomb was placed.

The third portrait was of a north African seen by a witness leaving the train at Châtelet and said to have been acting suspiciously.

The French government has offered a reward of 1 million francs ($200,000) for information leading to the capture of the perpetrators of the bomb attack, while operators of the Eurotunnel rail link between France and Britain said they were increasing security.

Le Monde, page 13

Christchurch radio winner

DOUGLAS McKENZIE, a retired journalist who lives in Christchurch, New Zealand, is the winner of the Sony multiband radio offered to those who took part in our recent Guardian Weekly Readers' Survey. His was the first questionnaire opened out of more than 5,000 returned by Weekly readers. The first 100 runners-up will receive the book of their choice.

ICM Research is currently analysing the survey data and we hope to publish some of their main findings next month. Many thanks to all those readers who took the trouble and time to complete their questionnaires.

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Doubts surround Wu's 'confession' 5
Tories trounced in byelection 8
How Asian tigers grew so big 12

Austria	AS30	Malta	45c
Belgium	BF75	Netherlands	G 4.40
Denmark	DK16	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 9.50	Portugal	E300
France	FF 13	Spain	P 275
Germany	DM 3.60	Sweden	SK 17
Greece	DR 400	Switzerland	SF 3.30
Italy	L 3,000	Thailand	60 Baht

Why Hong Kong need not fear its future after 1997

FLYING back last week from London, I came across an extremely gloomy piece about Hong Kong reprinted from the respected French newspaper, Le Monde (July 16). It did not paint a picture of Hong Kong that many people who actually live here would recognise. For a start, it was full of basic factual errors — claiming, for example, that the Chinese foreign minister refused to see me when I visited Beijing. In fact we had an hour long meeting. It dwelt on organised crime, without pointing out that Hong Kong remains one of the safest cities in the world, where violent crime is very low and where you are less likely to be assaulted, robbed, raped or murdered than if you live in either London or Paris, and where the crime rate is lower even than that in Singapore.

Most astonishing of all was the claim that a shop selling Mao T-shirts could be shut down in 1997, because of the interpretation which the Chinese government were likely to give to the common law concept of "acts of state"; and that somehow Britain had conceded such an all-encompassing definition to China in the recent agreement on Hong Kong's post-1997 Court of Final Appeal.

We have done no such thing. The wording on "acts of state" included in our draft legislation on the court simply repeats the wording from Hong Kong's post-1997 constitution, the Basic Law. This law was promulgated by China five years ago, and will apply in Hong Kong automatically from July 1 1997. The agreement we have reached with China provides for a *proper* Court of Final Appeal up and running from July 1 1997. It will prevent a legal vacuum occurring with the transfer of sovereignty.

The agreement has been welcomed by Hong Kong's Chief Justice, by the Law Society of Hong Kong, by many of Hong Kong's leading QCs, and by the local and international business community. Most importantly, it has also been welcomed by the people of Hong Kong themselves, who have the strongest stake of all in the preservation of the rule of law here after 1997.

There is enough genuine bad news in the world without inventing more. Hong Kong is fortunate to have one of the strongest economies in the world, and six million of its most talented and hard-working people. The transition in 1997 brings worries and difficulties. Britain and, particularly, China must work hard over the next 700 days to put those worries to rest. But there is a world of difference between acknowledging the problems and trying to resolve them, and declaring that Hong Kong is already finished. It is not. Hong Kong has a great deal going for it, and as long as Hong Kong people believe in themselves, and the promises made in the Joint Declaration are honoured, it will have a great future at the heart of this dynamic region.
Chris Patten,
Governor, Hong Kong

In defence of Bosnia

IN 1993 Bosnia's democratically elected President, Alija Izetbegovic, travelled to the United Nations. Battered and bruised with most of his country under fascist occupation, he appealed to the Security Council with the following words: "Defend us or allow us to defend ourselves, you have no right to deprive us of both."

Recent events in eastern Bosnia have confirmed beyond a shadow of a doubt that the international community (Britain and France at the forefront) have done precisely this. They have both refused to defend Bosnia and they have denied it the right to defend itself.

The only logical conclusion that can be reached therefore, is that the French and British governments are complicit in all of the war crimes, death, and destruction visited upon Bosnia since day one of the conflict.

British and French insistence on maintaining an arms embargo on the victims of "ethnic cleansing" has in effect put them in the role of holding down Bosnia while she is brutally raped by the Milosevic-Karadzic-Mladic trio.
Nader A Hashemi,
Canadian Committee to Save Bosnia, Ottawa

TALK of "giving the Serbs a bloody nose" merely obscures reality. This involves the death and maiming of an unknown number of British and other soldiers and of civilians. On the contrary, we should get out. Humanitarian aid to the people of Bosnia should be redoubled. Labour should call for military intervention in this civil war to cease.

When I see the horrors on television or hear a woman pleading on the radio, I join the "something must be done" brigade until I come to my senses and realise that the obverse is being transmitted on Russian media. What is to be the end of an interventionary war? Permanent occupation? Withdrawal, after which hostilities would be resumed? And then? Further intervention ending in world war?

If the Scots and English decided to resume slaughtering each other, the last thing to bring the matter to a resolved end would be the entry of blue helmets, whether on American, Russian, French or Bosnian craniums. The UN is there to resolve disputes between nations. If it seeks to intervene in civil wars, that will be the end of even more than the UN.
Lord Jenkins of Putney,
London

Australian achievements

RECENT correspondence about the prospect of a Labour government in the UK has referred disparagingly to the record of Labor in Australia. Mark Braund (July 2) goes so far as to assert that the Australian Labor Party has done in 12 years what it took the Tories 16 years to achieve in the UK.

Having recently lived in the UK for nearly four years I believe that nothing could be further from the truth. The fact is that the records of these governments are entirely dissimilar. Since 1983, the Labor Government in Australia has been responsible for major social achievements, including the reintroduction of a national health insurance system; real increases in social security benefits for adults of 12 per cent, and increases in payments for children of more than 80 per cent in real terms; the introduction of taxes on fringe benefits and capital gains; increases in the coverage of occupational superannuation from 40 per cent to 90 per cent of the workforce; an increase in the proportion of young people completing high school from 3 in 10 to 7 in 10; a 50 per cent increase in enrolments in tertiary education and the recognition and protection of native title. This is not "watered-down Conservatism".

Of course there are social and economic problems in Australia, and much remains to be done. If the British Labour party can achieve as much as the ALP then their reforms will be very substantial. But first they have to be elected.
Peter Whiteford,
Curtin, Western Australia

When stopping is the way to go

HUGO YOUNG (July 2) referred to what he described as the tendency of Greenpeace and bodies like it "to be escapists from the real world". He goes on: "Their solution for nuclear tests is brave and simple: stop them."

What's wrong with that solution? It is also the solution proposed by the Government of Canada, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, the Government of New Zealand, the Government of Australia, the Government of Sweden, etc.

There is nothing escapist about it. Tests are intended to enhance the ability of countries possessing nuclear weapons actually to use those weapons. Use of a nuclear weapon would be, I would argue (and so would many international lawyers), a crime in international law. (The World Court begins hearing on that very issue on October 30.)

The only part of Greenpeace's campaign against nuclear weapons with which I would take issue is their sometime over-concentration on the environmental effect of nuclear tests. Even if there were no environmental damage, testing would still be wrong.
Bill Singleton,
Ottawa, Canada

Brief reprieve for charity

I AM WRITING to thank you for helping us with our problems over the Foreign Contributions Regulation Act (FCRA) by publishing my letter of May 21, and to update you on what has happened.

On June 26 1995, we received a letter from Mr Sajnani at the Ministry of Home Affairs granting us temporary permission to bring in donations from abroad over the next four and a half months; Rs3,000,000/- from June until August and then Rs500,000/- a month until October.

Although we are very pleased to have received this order, it is only interim permission, and it still does not allow us to bring in enough donations to cover our monthly expenses (it costs approximately Rs8-900,000/- a month).

Since that time we have received two affidavits in opposition to our petition, from the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, both of which are very long and complicated and show that the government is not yet prepared to grant us the FCRA registration we so desperately need if we are to continue to help the poor and destitute people of Calcutta.

So, our fight is still continuing and we hope that you will also continue to help fight for us, as you have been so kind as to do up until now.
(Dr) Jack Preger,
Calcutta Rescue, Calcutta, India

Briefly

YOUR leader (A state licence to snoop, July 30) needs elaboration. Benefit fraud is practised by British citizens of all colours, far more than the 6,000 illegal immigrants found guilty of so doing. Furthermore, if the French experience is any guidance, Michael Howard's proposal to train public officials to flush out illegal immigrants will be based on prejudice rather than fact.

If the Government is genuinely interested in reducing benefit fraud by illegal immigrants, it should flush out illegal employers and emulate the example of the French government by imposing sanctions against illegal employers and public servants. An amnesty should be declared for all illegal immigrants with families. A voluntary identity card, perhaps a photographic driving licence as proposed by the Home Office should be introduced.
Tara Mukherjee,
President, EU Migrants Forum,
Brussels, Belgium

THE VERDICT of the UN Human Rights Committee in Geneva (July 30) marks a significant watershed. For the first time the committee decided that the system for protecting human rights in the United Kingdom is inadequate.

The UN does not require that states enact a bill of rights, but it does insist that they provide an effective remedy to anyone claiming that his or her human rights have been infringed. The committee decided that Britain was in breach of this primary obligation.

We trust that the Government and Parliament will take the UN conclusions seriously and bring forward appropriate legislation to secure human rights in Britain.
(Prof) Kevin Boyle, Director, Human Rights Centre, University of Essex,
Helena Kennedy QC, Chairperson, Charter 88

I READ with interest P Thacker's letter (Colombia made to play bad guy, July 16). One particular sentence held my attention: "Senator Helms suggests that the US Navy should blockade Bolivia if it fails to deliver in the fight against drugs."

No doubt Senator Helms has an unshakeable faith in what the US Navy can achieve, but I wonder: how does any Navy blockade a land-locked country like Bolivia?
Nora V Calp,
Etobicoke, Ontario, Canada

HOW IS it that Szyman Sevafinowicz appears in court to answer for war crimes allegedly committed in 1942 while our so-called leaders do nothing about Ratko Mladic's crimes against humanity? Do we really have to wait another 53 years for a result?
Ivan Benbrook,
London

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e-mail: weekly@guardian.co.uk.

We must repent, says mayor

Kevin Rafferty in Tokyo

TAKASHI HIRAOKA, the mayor of Hiroshima, attacked Japan's politicians on Monday for failing to apologise properly for the colonial and wartime atrocities committed by their country. "We should convey our apology for the suffering and colonial rule, which was very wrong."

He said that without repentance, Japan could not face the future confidently. Mr Hiraoka was talking to the press in Tokyo just six days before the 50th anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima.

He will use the anniversary ceremonies on Sunday to call for a ban on all nuclear testing. Nuclear weapons were a "total sin against mankind".

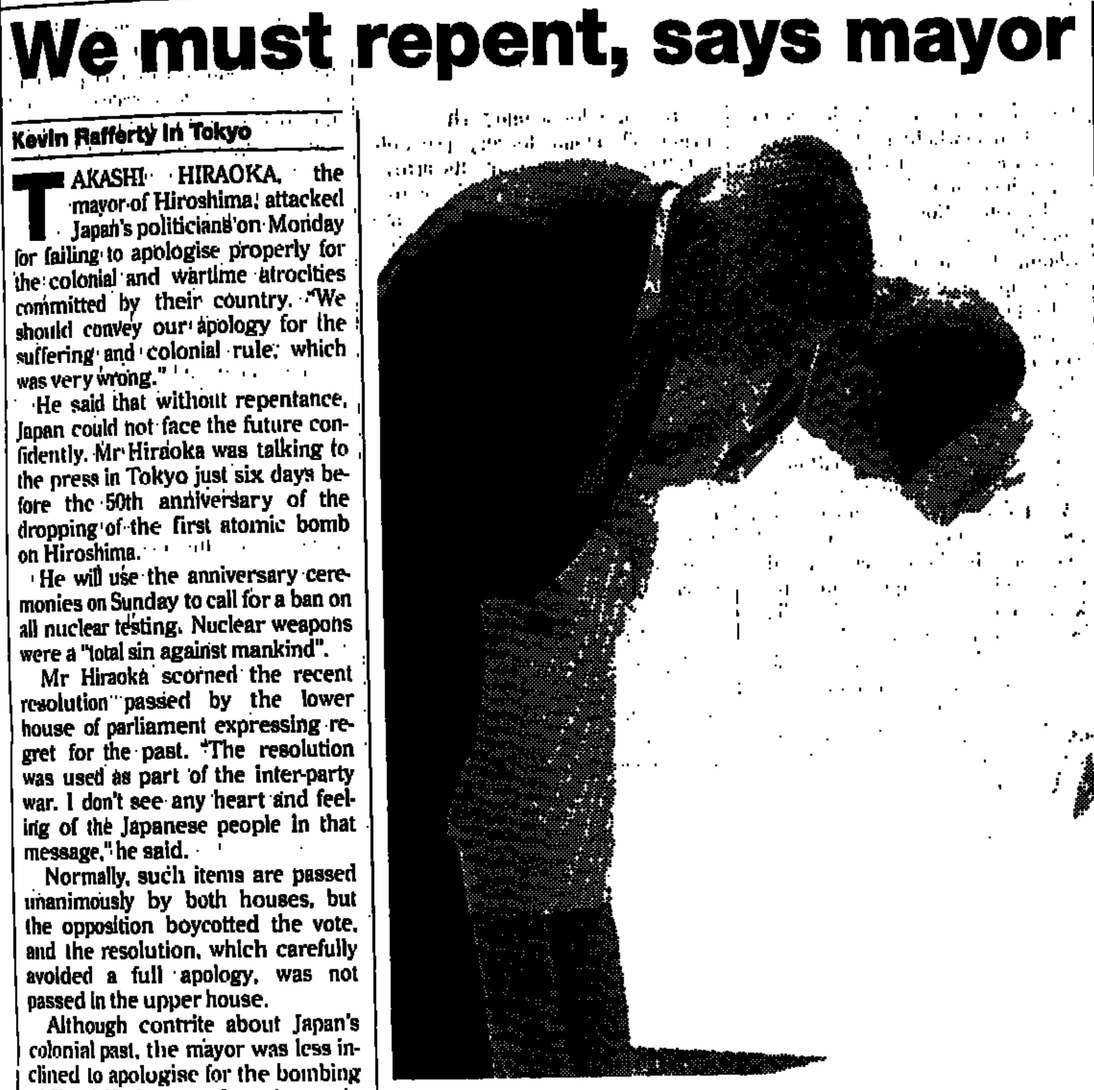
Mr Hiraoka scorned the recent resolution passed by the lower house of parliament expressing regret for the past. "The resolution was used as part of the inter-party war. I don't see any heart and feeling of the Japanese people in that message," he said.

Normally, such items are passed unanimously by both houses, but the opposition boycotted the vote, and the resolution, which carefully avoided a full apology, was not passed in the upper house.

Although contrite about Japan's colonial past, the mayor was less inclined to apologise for the bombing of Pearl Harbour or Japan's part in the second world war, which he described as a "battle of market share between Japan and the western allies, the US, UK and perhaps Holland, so I cannot say that this war was justifiable or not justifiable".

He added: "There is no such thing as a war of justice. When war breaks out, both parties will claim that they are in the right." He contrasted Japan's attack on China, where there was no declaration of war, with Pearl Harbour, where, because of what the mayor called "a mishap in the diplomatic channel", the declaration did not get delivered before the attack. "It was not that Japan cheated."

Birth of the bomb, page 11



THE Emperor of Japan sought to add balm to the wounds inflicted by the world's first atomic bombing 50 years ago when he made a fleeting visit on Monday to Hiroshima, *writes Edward Pilkington*.

Surrounded by officials and separated by policemen from a sizeable crowd, Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko, seen above, bowed in front of the memorial in the city's central peace park.

The royal couple then moved into a hospital for about 300 elderly people — average age 83 — caught in the bombing.

The Hiroshima visit is one leg of an unprecedented royal tour that will take the emperor to the four parts of Japan that suffered most casualties during the war. It has been presented by the royal entourage as a mourning for the dead.

Last week the emperor went to Nagasaki, site of the second atomic bomb unleashed by the Americans on August 9, which killed 80,000, and he has also visited Okinawa, the island where 320,000 died during resistance to the Allied invasion.

The nationwide soul-searching is likely to reach a peak as the country approaches the final war anniversary, the Japanese surrender on August 15.

PHOTOGRAPH: TSUGUFUMI MATSUMOTO

Expiry of army training pact strains relations with Kenya

Chris McGreal in Nairobi

THE British army's longstanding agreement for combat training in Kenya expired on Monday with no new deal in sight, apparently falling victim to rising political tension between the two countries.

Britain has been trying for months to negotiate a new "status of forces agreement", which permits thousands of British troops to exercise in Kenya and Kenyan soldiers to train in Britain. But relations, already tainted by increasing international criticism of President Daniel arap Moi's evident disdain for democratic government and human rights, received a serious blow last week when Britain said it would withhold aid.

Although Kenya is no longer a key strategic location, since the end of the cold war, it remains of considerable value to the British army because it permits the use of live ammunition on large tracts of land in the north of the country.

Prospects for an extension dimmed last week when the Overseas Development Minister, Lynda Chalker, announced what was widely interpreted as a suspension of £11 million of direct aid to the Kenyan government, because of continuing political repression.

"I will not make any further announcement of aid until I am satisfied not only about the political reform but also economic reform and respect for human rights. All those things go together," Baroness Chalker said.

When the British minister arrived for a meeting with the president, she was greeted by Mr Moi waving a news agency copy of her comments in one hand and his trademark stick in the other.

The British high commissioner, Simon Hemans, attempted to repair the damage on Monday by accusing reporters of misquoting and misinterpreting Baroness Chalker. He was unable to identify a specific misquote, but insisted that journalists had all managed to misinterpret the minister when she said that there would be no new aid under existing conditions, that she hoped the situation was "temporary", and that she was "very sad" about it.

The high commissioner, who said Baroness Chalker had approved his statement, said her comments did not amount to aid suspension or a policy change.

"Suspended? No, not really suspended. There was currently no programme aid being spent, so we haven't stopped anything," he said.

Baroness Chalker's office said earlier that it was wrong to call it an aid freeze, suggesting instead a "refrigeration".

But Mr Hemans conceded that the bulk of British aid to the Kenyan government was now tied to further political and economic reform, and that cannot please President Moi.

Aboriginal tipped for top

AN ABORIGINAL woman seems likely to be made Australia's next head of state, in what could be the last such appointment by the Crown before the country becomes a republic, *writes Christopher Zinn in Sydney*.

Speculation in Canberra and the press is mounting that Lois O'Donoghue, chairwoman of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, will get the job.

The prime minister, Paul Keating, is due to reveal this month who will succeed the governor-general, Bill Hayden, whose term as the Queen's representative expires in February.

There has been no official announcement but sources report a "short list" of women candidates, headed by Ms O'Donoghue, aged 62.

The canvassing of her name suggests some in the government may be testing public opinion before such a radical break with tradition. No woman has occupied the post.

Portillo and Perry offer Bihac cold comfort

Jonathan Freedland in Washington

BRITAIN and the US will not be leading any western effort to save the besieged safe haven of Bihac by issuing an ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs, the UK Defence Secretary, Michael Portillo, and his US counterpart, William Perry, stated on Monday.

Mr Portillo, on his first visit to Washington in his new job, joined Mr Perry in indicating that there would be no allied repeat of the tactic of issuing an ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs, as happened with the eastern enclave of Gorazde.

Both men were keen to fend off demands for a more vigorous response to Serb action in the Bihac enclave in north-west Bosnia, stressing that the conditions which led last month's London conference to warn the rebel Serbs not to attack Gorazde — lest they face the wrath of Nato — did not apply to the north-western pocket.

"I believe that it is important that the Bihac safe haven be defended," Mr Perry said. "But I would not wish to simply say that the ultimatum which has been issued in Gorazde would be appropriate in Bihac."

Mr Portillo implicitly endorsed the stance. "Every threat or ultimatum we issue has to be absolutely credible and one we can see through to the bitter end," he declared.

"Bihac is particularly problematic," he said. "No clear line on the ground can be drawn . . . Gorazde offered a clear-cut situation where there was a line you could draw."

Mr Perry said an ultimatum was inappropriate in Bihac, because the situation was more "complicated" than Gorazde. Nato air power is not the only hope for Bihac, Mr Perry said, since the Bosnian government had marshalled a "sizeable and capable" force in the region. Bihac was also made more unwieldy by the involvement of the Croats and of renegade Muslims, fighting against the Bosnian government.

Mr Portillo reiterated British fears that Croatian actions around Bihac could lead to the war in Bosnia "broadening and deepening", and he restated that Nato firepower around Sarajevo would only be used to protect United Nations conveys.

Later Mr Portillo met the Senate majority leader, Bob Dole — the first British meeting with a Republican leader since last week's Senate vote to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia.

Mr Portillo was expected to remind Mr Dole of Britain's opposition to the policy, which London and the Clinton administration have argued will lead to the withdrawal of the UN protection force.

The Portillo-Dole meeting was scheduled for the eve of a House vote on the same embargo motion — expected to pass with an overwhelming majority. That would leave the measure on President Bill Clinton's desk, where he has said he will veto it immediately. The last time such a measure came before the House it passed by 318 votes to 99 — far more than the 291 it needs to override a presidential veto.

If the arms embargo were lifted, the outcome would be "the dwarfing" of casualties so far by a wave of fresh killings, Mr Portillo warned.

Washington Post, page 17



The Week

THE SPANISH prime minister, Felipe González, and several other leading Socialist Party figures will be investigated by the supreme court after a judicial inquiry found evidence of their involvement in a "dirty war" against the Basque separatist group ETA in the 1980s.

AN ISRAELI gunman who killed two people and held a group of holidaymakers hostage in a bus at Cologne apparently ended his own life as police stormed the bus. A post-mortem showed Leon Bor, aged 31, had powder burns on his head.

SUSAN SMITH, aged 23, was sentenced at Union, South Carolina, to life behind bars for drowning her two young sons after the jury convicted her on two counts of murder.

GEORGE ROMNEY, a leading liberal Republican governor of the sixties who failed at his 1968 presidential bid after confessing that he had been "brainwashed" on Vietnam by President Lyndon Johnson and the US military, has died, aged 88.

THE death toll in Chicago due to America's record-breaking heatwave reached 530. The punishing weather has wrought havoc throughout the US and temperatures continue to soar.

THE Singapore Supreme Court has awarded three of the republic's leaders a record $650,000 in defamation damages over an article in the International Herald Tribune alleging government nepotism.

PRESIDENT Saddam Hussein has decreed a general amnesty for all his political opponents as part of a campaign to try to help end UN sanctions.
Comment, page 10

A MANILA court sentenced Ferdinand Marcos Jr, son of the late Philippines dictator, to nine years in jail for tax evasion.

CHINA'S People's Liberation Army said it will not give up the threat of force if Taiwan tries to declare independence.

A TAMIL Tiger radio station announced 180 guerrillas, 128 of them women fighters, were killed last week, their biggest one-day loss in nearly two years.

HAITI'S electoral council president, Anselme Remy, has resigned after becoming the target of scathing criticism over the handling of the June elections.
Le Monde, page 15

DIVINE BROWN, the Hollywood prostitute who found fame after her encounter with the actor Hugh Grant, is to appear in a lingerie advertisement in Brazil.

'Inept UN' has failed Angola

The peace process has gone into reverse, Angola's army chief tells **Victoria Brittain**

THE CEASEFIRE in Angola is constantly being violated, the first stage of the peace process agreed more than eight months ago in Lusaka has not even begun, and in recent days there has been a reversal of a partial disengagement of troops, according to the army commander, General Joao Matos.

"Unita's objective is to suffocate the government by negotiating delays which leave the country under military pressure, unable to function and with the population in untenable misery. What people could accept in war in a spirit of solidarity, they cannot accept any longer. They want to cultivate, to trade, to live.

"The government cannot allow itself to be suffocated. It will have to take a decision, and a return to war — the worst scenario — is very probable," he said.

The United Nations operation in Angola is, he said, contributing to the degradation of the country, rather than bringing peace. "We don't want just a peace for Luanda, we want peace for the whole of Angola. Fifteen miles from here peasants are dying — roads are mined, there is no free passage for people — ask them whether this is peace."

Gen Matos accused top UN officials, including the secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his special represenative in Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, of having "a very superficial understanding".

Unita controls about 40 per cent of the country and is still receiving supplies by both air and land, through Zaire, Gen Matos said.

The most critical need is for Unita areas to be opened so that both the UN and the population can move freely. Its scattered and mobile troops must be consolidated into quartering areas, disarmed, monitored by the UN, and then demobilised. But the quartering areas have not even been agreed, no lists of Unita personnel have been provided, the figures given for the size of its army have fluctuated between 15,000 and 70,000, and the UN has only about a third of its verification mechanism in place, according to Gen Matos.

Last week, a delegation from the Angolan armed forces (FAA) met Unita military leaders for the first time without politicians or the UN. "We made them the best offer we ever have — a huge concession by us," Gen Matos said.

The FAA proposal would integrate all the military forces in the country with the aim of making the army a force for stability. This would bring all Unita forces, probably 50,000 to 60,000 men, into the army.

The FAA would provide on-the-job training in road building and rural jobs, and give each man the opportunity to build his own house. Permanent commissions would be offered to all Unita officers. "Unita said no to all this. So the result is that we go back to the framework of Lusaka, and the clause on troop size stemming from the 1991 Bicesse agreement, which allows them 20,000 troops in the FAA. When they do the calculations they will not be very happy," Gen Matos said. There are 3,000 former Unita troops already integrated into the FAA, leaving places for only 17,000 more.

ANGOLA'S population is exhausted by two decades of war, bitter about the small élite of super-rich in power, and terrorised by the threat of Unita. Every day 95 children under the age of five die. Maternal mortality has nearly doubled since the late 1980s to 15 per 1,000 births. The national health service has collapsed; school standards and enrolments have fallen sharply; the university functions at a minimal level.

In many places civil servants, doctors, nurses and teachers have not been paid for months. A rash of strikes has paralysed the education system. Yet most state employees still work long hours while living hand-to-mouth with the help of relatives. Successive devaluations and the soaring cost of living have made their wages derisory: £15.72 a month for a university teacher; £1.88 for a civil servant; 63p for a nurse.

As a result there is a wholesale exodus of skilled people from the state sector into the UN, new foreign aid agencies and private business, where salaries are 100 times higher and entrepreneurs are making fortunes. Professionals too are leaving the country and being replaced at international salaries by foreigners, particularly in the university and hospitals.

In the last year, new luxury shops, nightclubs and restaurants have opened in the streets of Luanda among the crumbling apartment buildings overlooking the Atlantic. They serve the new affluent class with their dollars from corrupt import/export businesses and the army of well-paid foreigners.

Amputees, mostly young former soldiers, beg aggressively at car windows on the busiest intersections. Half a million displaced people have swollen the population of Luanda to 2.5 million. For many theft is the only way to survive.

The government cannot combat the erosion of the social fabric without a dramatic change of priorities.

Even that will not be enough as long as the international community allows Unita to continue stalling the peace process, which is making a mockery of the UN here.

Peace deal signed in Chechenia

James Meek in Moscow

RUSSIAN and Chechen rebel negotiators signed a peace deal at the weekend, agreeing to a ceasefire, the disengagement of forces, the release of prisoners and the demilitarisation of the war-ravaged territory.

Both sides saw the agreement, signed in the Chechen capital Grozny, as a breakthrough but warned that implementing it would be difficult.

The biggest obstacle to a lasting peace — the Russians' refusal to accept Chechen independence and the rebels' refusal to renounce it — was barely touched upon in the document, which affirmed Moscow's sovereignty.

A further obstacle emerged on Monday when the Chechen leader, General Dzhokhar Dudayev, denounced the deal, saying the Chechens had been intimidated.

The senior Chechen negotiator, Usman Imayev, said: "We have legally confirmed the end of hostilities, laying down arms and a step-by-step withdrawal of Russian troops. Now it's up to us to carry out the agreement but we are optimistic." Moscow's senior representative at the talks, Vyacheslav Mikhailov, said: "A very important step has been taken."

The deal was signed on Sunday after weeks of talks supervised by the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).

The OSCE representative, Sandor Meszaros, said the agreement involved an immediate halt to military activity, an exchange of prisoners — including Chechen men detained in the notorious Russian security screening centres — an end to terrorism and sabotage, the surrender of rebel weapons and a gradual Russian withdrawal.



A call to arms . . . A Chechen guard sees his children for the first time in months during a break in negotiations in Grozny

The success of the peace party in the Russian government, led by the prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, and since approved by President Yeltsin, raises the question of why it was necessary for Moscow to wage war, destroy Grozny and sacrifice thousands of lives before starting serious talks with the rebels.

Russia now seems ready to give Chechenia broad autonomy, but would insist on retaining control over key oil pipelines and rail and road links through the territory and on barring any independent army, foreign policy or currency.

Cult women guilty of murder plot

Christopher Reed in Portland, Oregon

A SPIRITUAL quest that took two English women to a religious commune in America's Pacific North-west has ended in guilty verdicts for plotting a murder and the likelihood of several years in prison for both.

A jury in Portland, Oregon, last week convicted Sally-Anne Croft, aged 45, an accountant from Totnes, Devon, and Susan Hagan, aged 48, an aromatherapist from Bedmond, Hertfordshire, of conspiring to murder Oregon's chief law enforcement officer, the federal attorney Charles Turner.

He was investigating what the court was told were up to 400 fraudulent marriages between American members of the Rajneesh cult and foreign members, including two marriages by both the English women. The judge set sentencing for October 16 after probation reports have been prepared. Both will remain on bail as they have a year ago to the day since they stepped off a plane from London in handcuffs.

Five former cultists who have admitted to conspiring testified that Croft, known as Prem Savita, provided money to purchase guns which they bought in New Mexico. Ms Hagan, known as Anand Su, ordered secret photographs of Mr Turner's home and gave a pep talk at a "killing conference", urging members "to do something" to save the commune.

Lord Longford, who led supporters at an emotional send-off at Heathrow airport last summer, said he was amazed the women were never called to give evidence. "I know they are innocent."

Doubts surround Wu's confession

John Gittings

HARRY WU, the human rights activist whose arrest by China worsened relations between Beijing and Washington, has confessed under interrogation to "falsifying facts", according to the official Chinese news agency.

In a videotape released in Beijing, Mr Wu appears to admit that several episodes in a film about Chinese prison labour made with his collaboration for the BBC are "wrong". He is shown looking tired and answering in a low voice.

The news agency says that Mr Wu — a United States citizen detained on June 19 when he entered China and charged three weeks later with espionage — confessed that in another film he had tried to "deceive people" by claiming that organs from executed prisoners were being transplanted for cash at a Chinese hospital.

Human rights researchers point out that Mr Wu has been in custody for a month and that confessions of this kind are extracted under pressure and should be regarded with scepticism. He has been adopted by the human rights organisation Amnesty International as a prisoner of conscience.

In Washington, state department officials said they could not confirm whether the tape was really of Mr Wu. If it was, any statement was likely to have been forced from him.

"I think everybody understands the conditions under which such tapes are made," spokesman Nicholas Burns said.

Mr Wu's wife, Ching-lee Wu, told a San Francisco television station that her husband looked as if he had lost about 5kg. "He looks terrible."

Mr Wu is regarded as a passionate campaigner whose accusations against China are not always proven. Concern has been expressed about some of the details in the BBC film.

The two films, made by Sue Lloyd-Roberts — who visited China with Mr Wu — and both shown by the BBC, enraged Chinese officials and are the main evidence against him on charges of "illegally obtaining state secrets and conducting criminal activities".

Their showing soured relations with the BBC, which had already been harmed by a controversial film about Mao Zedong's sex life.

The BBC said that it backed its reporter and was fully satisfied with the "editorial rigour" of the films. Ms Lloyd-Roberts "stands completely by the story".

Mr Wu has crusaded against China's prison system by writing books and articles and paying secret visits. He spent 19 years in the *laogai* (labour camp) system and suffered appalling treatment. He watched prisoners starve and their burial in unmarked graves. Although never formally charged, he was labelled a "rightist" after criticising the Soviet invasion of Hungary.

The videotape released in Beijing last week shows Mr Wu commenting on a scene in the BBC film showing what it described as prison goods sold in a street near the jail.

Mr Wu says the scene was not close to the jail. "I was not the one who put them together," he adds. "This is wrong . . . I wouldn't do it that way."

He is quoted as admitting that an alleged prisoners' graveyard shown was actually an ordinary cemetery.

Observers say that, in conceding some details are incorrect, he is trying to resist pressure to repudiate his whole case.

A spokesperson in London for the Free Harry Wu campaign said that there might well have been "some inaccuracies in the BBC reporting" but the substance of the reports was "fully based on Chinese government documentation and evidence from survivors of the labour camps".

Allegations that Mr Wu had been punished for "seducing girl students . . . when he was a university teacher" were simply designed to discredit his work.

Experienced human rights researchers express unreserved admiration for Mr Wu's bravery in returning to China. But they regard his statistics as unreliable, particularly his claim that there are 20 million people in prison camps. "He may exaggerate in his passion to convince people," says one researcher.

US consular officials have been allowed only one visit to Mr Wu in prison in the central city of Wuhan. Beijing believes former citizens should not expect special treatment.

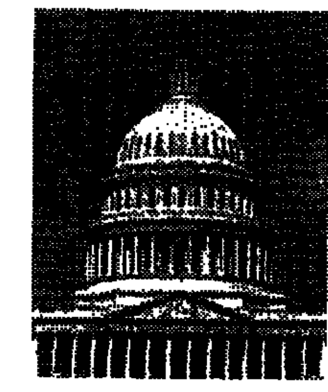
By entering China on business or tourist visas, Mr Wu technically broke immigration law, and all prison details are regarded as state secrets. His arrest has brought demands in the US Congress for sanctions against China.



A tired Wu in the video 'confession' released in China

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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Runners get fit for presidential race



The US this week

Martin Walker

IT IS NOT a pretty sight, a man celebrating his 72nd birthday in his underwear, toiling in his basement on a jogging machine to prove to the whirring cameras that he is still fit enough to be president. *But this is Senator Robert Dole 15* months before America goes to the polls, having already spent $5.2 million this year to persuade Americans to give him their votes.

But Senator Dole is not the only candidate quick off the blocks. Turn on the TV and "Re-elect Clinton the Crime-Fighter" ads are a regular feature. Indeed, Federal Election Commission papers filed last week show that the Clinton campaign has spent $3.3 million already.

In the case of the president, this investment appears to be paying off. Despite the Congressional hearings on the Waco raid, and the hounding of his White House with the Senate hearings into Whitewater, Clinton is rising steadily in the polls.

Last week's Gallup poll for USA Today found Clinton leading Dole 50-44, with the president triumphing in a three-man race against Dole and General Colin Powell, or against Dole and Jesse Jackson. Against either Powell or Jackson, both African-Americans, Clinton still gets a majority of the black vote.

Seventeen years ago, Lamar Alexander's walk across his home state of Tennessee helped elect him governor. Now he is repeating his feat, but this time the venue is New Hampshire, where it is town-meeting time again. Here, Norman Rockwell's warming vision of a homely democracy has already been CNN-ed to death by Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich, debating on their best, bipartisan behaviour.

Another battle front is Arkansas, where two of Clinton's traditional sources of funds, the Tyson Foods empire and the Stephens Brothers investment group, have started putting money into the Dole campaign. Meanwhile, Pat Buchanan and Senator Phil Gramm are fighting hard for the rightwing vote, with Buchanan's skill at populist soundbites more than compensating for Gramm's early lead in fundraising.

Buchanan's line on Japan is wonderfully crafted for the TV ads: "If we had conducted our arms negotiations as we are running our trade negotiations, we'd all be speaking Russian by now." He is placed second behind Dole in the New Hampshire polls, which is interesting because the state has recovered from the recession-fuelled resentments that powered the former's challenge to President Bush in 1992.

Buchanan is starting to raise serious money from some of Reagan's old backers, like the Coors beer fortune and textile magnate Roger Milliken. He has also brought aboard Tom Monaghan, the vehemently anti-abortion Domino's pizza tycoon.

On the Democratic side, we are being treated to the quadrennial Jesse Jackson tease of "examining my option" — a public wrestling-match between his conscience and his party loyalty that always gets *him back into the public eye. Not to* be outdone, Ross Perot is again making his presence felt.

The conventional wisdom says the early start to the election season is all the fault of the new front-loaded primary process. We used to have a presidential year timetable that was as predictable as the baseball season. The Iowa caucus gave way to the New Hampshire primary in February. Then we had the South's Super-Tuesday in March, *followed by Michigan, Illinois, New* York and Pennsylvania in April, ending up with California in June.

California's irritation at being the tail-ender began the great change. By bringing forward its own primary date to March, California launched a stampede by all the other states to stay ahead of the process. So this time it will all be settled by the end of March.

New Hampshire keeps the pole position on February 20, followed by Arizona seven days later. Then comes South Carolina on March 3, Georgia on March 5, New York on March 7, and Texas and Florida and most of the South on March 12. On March 19 comes the Rustbelt primary with Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan, with California bringing up the rear again, on March 26.

We should certainly know the presidential candidates by April Fool's Day, which seems fitting enough. And what little suspense remains will depend on Perot, Jackson, and maybe Powell as third-party possibilities.

Consider what this will portend for the eight months from April 1 to the election itself. Normally enlivened by primaries, the real hand-to-hand combat will begin in the spring. Forget the Rose Garden strategy, in which an incumbent president calmly continues to govern while his rivals gnaw at one another's vitals.

It will be hand-to-hand combat all summer long between president and challenger. Only a miracle can save us — the failure of a Robert Dole or Colin Powell or whoever to emerge as the clear primary winner in the monstrous month of March. This could lead to a dream scenario for those of us who relish old-fashioned American democracy. Assume that Dole takes New Hampshire and Gramm takes the South. Buchanan gets New York, and enough cross-over votes to share the Rustbelt primaries with Dole. Wilson sweeps California and with the decision still hanging, everyone heads for that grand old American tradition of the brokered party convention at San Diego next August.

The overall result is less a political process than a uniquely American pathology. Only America subjects itself to this unending orgy of politicking, to the fundraising that never stops, to the Sunday morning talk-shows that go from reporting the last election to predicting the next one.

But in all this process, one crucial aspect has been missed. To illustrate this, try this short political quiz: were the following statements made by Bill Clinton or Newt Gingrich? "The party tradition I identify with was very progressive, the party of industrialisation, of economic growth. It was the party of the full lunch pail. The party was very activist. That was the party that created the land-grant colleges and built the transcontinental railroad. It had a vision which it was willing to impose upon the society."

And what about this one? "I believe in a lean bureaucracy, not in no bureaucracy. You can have an active, aggressive state that does not, in fact, have a large centralised bureaucracy." Both may sound as if they come from the left side of the US political debate. They may applaud the tradition of activist government with a clear industrial strategy and a a firm sense of its right to interfere with the free market. But both those statements come from Gingrich.

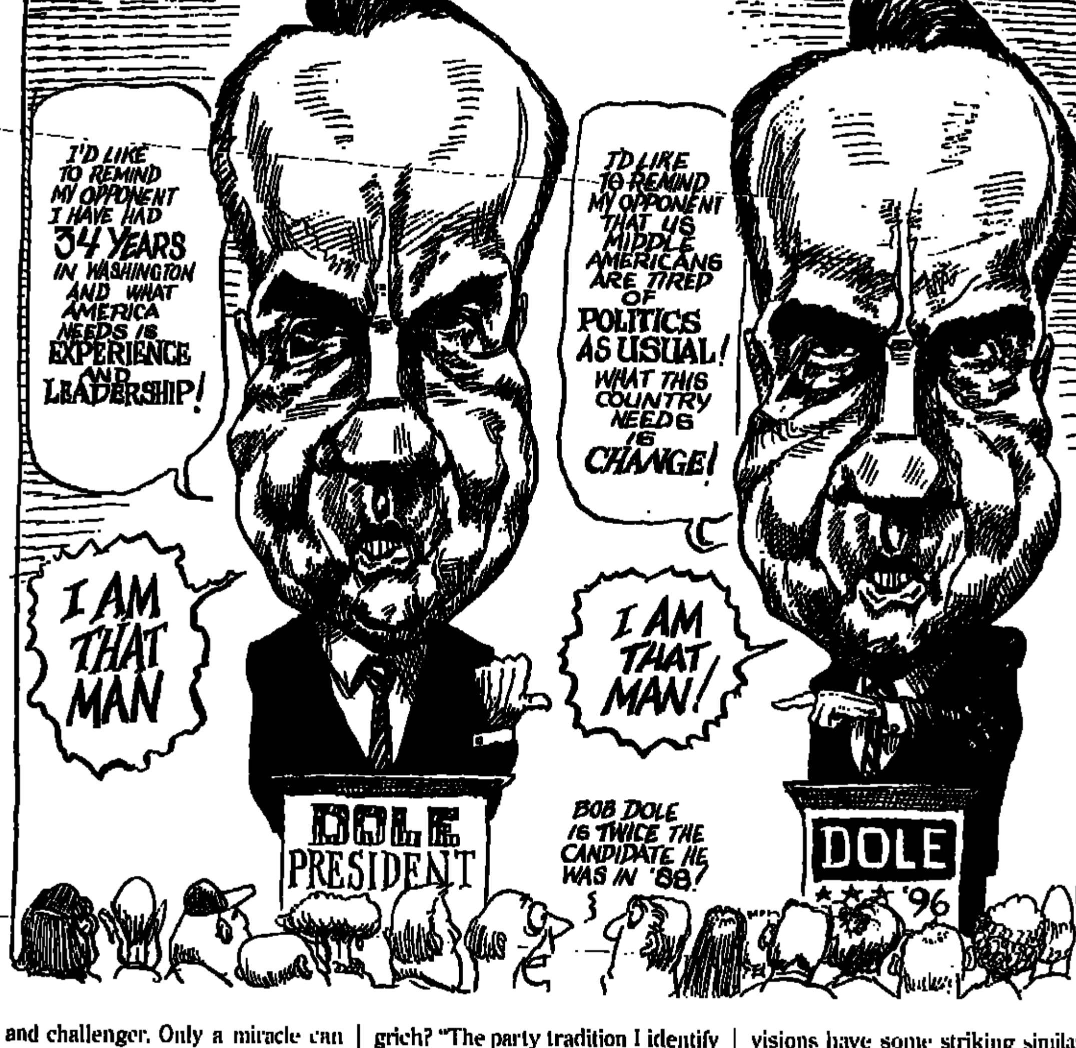
Yet how much essential difference should we expect from two baby-boomers from broken homes who managed to avoid the Vietnam war, whose only jobs were university lecturing and elected office, and who each owns the same private car — a 1966 Ford Mustang convertible? The Clinton and Gingrich visions have some striking similarities. Neither could abide the classic foreign policy presidency of George Bush. Each built his political appeal on the promise of a middle-class tax cut, to be financed through a diminished and "re-invented" government bureaucracy, with Americans educated and challenged to compete in the bracing new world of the global economy.

EACH believes in an activist government. In the Clinton view, it has a duty to equip the public with the educational tools *to succeed; in the Gingrich view*, to steer them towards the moral values without which success has no meaning. Clinton would intervene in the schools and economy, Gingrich in the private lives of welfare mothers and the history curriculum of the schools.

These common threads that link Clinton and Gingrich suggest that something more fundamental is at work than a conventional shift in the balance of power from left to right, *or from an activist concept of government* to a shrunken one. That is why the most interesting political relationship in the US these days is the one between Clinton and Gingrich.

It helps explain the curious way that the entire Democratic party in Congress was savaging the Gingrich plan to balance the budget within seven years by cutting health care for the poor and the elderly, when they were suddenly *sabotaged by President Clinton. He* agreed with Gingrich, so long as the process could be phased over 10 years rather than seven.

And the real political irony of the current political process in the US is that Newt Gingrich and Bill Clinton are each, in their own way, running against the older generation and the older way of doing things, in the shape of that old man in his underwear pounding himself breathless for the cameras: Senator Robert Dole, the Republican front-runner.



US had early warning of Pan Am bomb threat

Richard Norton-Taylor

THE US State Department was warned that a Palestinian group was planning to attack Pan Am airlines less than three weeks before the Lockerbie air disaster in which 270 people lost their lives, according to an intelligence report.

The report reopens the controversy surrounding the bombing of the Pan Am jet over Lockerbie and raises new questions about the British and US governments' insistence that Libya alone was to blame.

A counter-intelligence assessment, headed Department of State, Diplomatic Security, warned on December 2, 1988: "Team of Palestinians not assoc with Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) intends to atk US tgts in Europe. Time frame is present." It added: "Tgts specified are Pan-Am airlines and US mil bases." The comment attached to the report reads: "We cannot refute or confirm this."

The name of the informant is blacked out, as is an item headed FRG, a reference to the Federal Republic of Germany. Pan Am Flight 103, which blew up *on December 21, 1988*, started in Frankfurt.

The document was obtained by lawyers representing Pan Am's insurers under the US Freedom of Information Act and *was passed to Labour MP Tam* Dalyell. It was released to the insurers in May.

The document was described by Jim Swire, spokesman for British families who lost relatives in the Lockerbie disaster, as "extraordinarily important". He and others who question the official version of events suspect that the bombing was financed by Iran and planned by members of Ahmed Jibril's Popular *Front for the Liberation of* Palestine — General Command.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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The Week in Britain James Lewis

Slow pace of Irish talks leaves peace in doldrums

THE CEASEFIRE in Northern Ireland is almost a year old, but all-party talks on a political settlement are as far away as ever because the British government insists that the IRA must decommission its weapons before its political wing, Sinn Fein, can be admitted to discussions. Republican supporters are becoming restive and want Sinn Fein's president, Gerry Adams, to demonstrate some tangible gains from the ceasefire.

Dublin showed its commitment to maintaining the momentum of the peace process by releasing another 12 IRA prisoners. The move was also intended to bring pressure on the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, to speed the transfer of IRA prisoners from Britain to Northern Ireland. Three were transferred last week following a "dirty protest" at Whitemoor Prison in Cambridgeshire, but others are still held there.

Unionist die-hards, who insist that IRA weapons are handed over before they will sit at the same table with Sinn Fein, have at least dropped their objections to Republican involvement in bilateral talks, which seems the most likely way of breaking the impasse. They are, however, uneasy about recent private meetings between Mr Adams and the Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew. Secret talks *were "damaging the prospects of* peace", said the Church of Ireland primate, Dr Robin Eames.

He was speaking into the silence of a political vacuum that begins to seem more ominous than the crackle of gunfire. In support of their demand for progress, Sinn Fein supporters staged a march in Lurgan, Co Armagh, a town devastated by an IRA bomb three years ago. Bottles and stones were thrown as loyalists tried to stop the march, *and two police officers* were hurt trying to keep the two sides apart.

THE GOVERNMENT used its powers for the first time to seize control of a north-east London school from the hands of its governors and the local education authority because it was allegedly failing to provide an acceptable standard of education and suffering from poor results, high rates of truancy, bad discipline and poor management. It will now be run by a team of businessmen and educationists responsible directly to the Education and Employment Secretary, Gillian Shephard.

Hackney Downs, a once-proud grammar school founded by the Worshipful Company of Grocers in 1876, had an illustrious list of old boys, including Harold Pinter, Steven Berkoff, Michael Caine, Sir Alfred Sherman and the late Lord Goodman. Over two decades, however, it became a "sink" school, accepting children expelled from elsewhere.

The behaviour of unruly children was matched by that of their parents, who were caught up in factional infighting between governors, teachers and the town hall, where the so-called loony left was eventually ousted by a more moderate Labour authority.

Extreme leftwingers within the ruling Labour party in another London borough, Lambeth, were blamed for the local authority's "appalling financial and administrative mess". An independent report by Elizabeth Appleby, QC, found that up to 500 officers were receiving fraudulent handouts; that the highways department alone had spent £20 million illegally; that there was nepotism behind recruitment; and there were arrears of £200 million due to an unwritten policy of refusing to collect taxes and rents.

Labour has since lost control, and the leader of the now "hung" authority, Jim Dickson, accepted what he called a "damning indictment of more than a decade of utterly irresponsible political leadership". He pledged that "new" Labour would remake the council from top to bottom.

MICHAEL HESELTINE, the Deputy Prime Minister, was accused by Labour of "soaring to new heights of arrogance" after the High Court made an unprecedented award of libel damages against him. The award and costs, to a TV journalist, amounted to £55,000, but the bill is likely to be nearer £100,000 when Mr Heseltine's own legal costs are included. Labour claims they should be deducted from his ministerial salary, not paid by the taxpayers.

The journalist, Martyn Gregory, made a programme about the *export sales of torture equipment* by three British companies, and sued Mr Heseltine and the Department of Trade when they cast doubts on the integrity of the programme and accused it of scaremongering. Amnesty International named it the best documentary in its media awards in June.

THE CONES "hotline", a pet wheeze dreamed up by the *Prime Minister, John Major, to win* the support of his party conference in 1992, is to be quietly scrapped because it served no useful purpose.

Motorists have long complained that long stretches of motorway are coned off although no work is being carried out. So Mr Major gave them the hotline — a freephone line manned 24 hours a day — through which they could complain and get the obstacles removed.

It transpires that, in nearly three years, only five sets of unnecessary cones have been removed from roadworks as a result of calls to the line which, even at peak times, received fewer than two calls an hour.



Hat trick . . . Ten Sikhs have lost their jobs because they refused to remove their turbans in compliance with a European directive that insists hard hats be worn for certain occupations. The directive came into effect in 1993. The British Sikh Federation is launching a petition requesting the European Parliament for support. Under Sikh religious law, adherents are forbidden to cut any of their body hair, and the turban must be worn to protect the hair PHOTOGRAPH: PAUL TONGE

UK to scrap farm subsidies

Paul Brown

IN THE most radical change in policy for 50 years, the Ministry of Agriculture said last week it wanted to abolish food production subsidies — a move which would change the face of farming in Britain and cut food prices in the shops.

Farmers who get paid a subsidy for creating food mountains or, *under the set-aside scheme, for letting* land lie idle, would sell food on the open market for the first time since the second world war.

The changes were recommended by a Common Agricultural Policy review group set up by William Waldegrave when he was the minister. Last week his successor, Douglas Hogg, said the Common Agricultural Policy was no longer of benefit to the farmer, the consumer or the taxpayer.

The changes will now be put to the other European Union nations for approval. Mr Hogg said the changes must come before the EU was enlarged to take in eastern European countries with huge farming populations. By the turn of the century the EU practice of dumping surplus agricultural produce outside the union would be restricted. It was important to remove farming subsidies before then, so go-ahead farmers could exploit world *markets.*

Existing policies were based on memories of shortages of food in the two world wars and the need to prevent the British public ever facing the threat of starvation. The EU was now a large food exporter. Improvements in technology meant the British should never need to go hungry again.

The cost of the CAP had grown massively and the consumer was paying dearly through high food *prices.*

Mr Hogg said farmers would be able to sell their produce on the open market, freed from the costly overheads of conforming to EU farming policy. If they received payments, it would be for preserving hedgerows or maintaining hill farms that would otherwise be uneconomic.

Food prices in Britain were more than £8 billion higher than they would be if subsidies were not paid *to farmers.*

Gavin Strang, shadow minister of agriculture, said the reversal of policy was a death bed repentance from a Government which had presided over a 43 per cent increase in CAP spending in real terms since 1979. The budget this year was £33 billion.

The Country Landowners Association welcomed the change but said it must be accompanied by the creation of more non-farming jobs in *the countryside.*

Pensions point to a world of difference

David Brindle

THE British pension doubtless goes a lot further in Burkina Faso than in Berkhamsted, but it may come as a surprise to learn that a recipient of the state's £58.85 a week lives there.

It may similarly be arresting to know that there is a British pensioner living in Greenland, two in Mongolia and 64 in Peru. All get their weekly payment direct from the Department of Social Security.

A fascinating picture of the diaspora of British pensioners has emerged in a memorandum prepared by the DSS for the Commons social security committee. In all, it shows, almost 700,000 pensioners — about one in 14 — live overseas, mostly in Commonwealth countries. More than 30,000 pensioners are living in Spain and Portugal, 800 in countries of the former Yugoslavia and 88 in Japan.

But only some *300,000* of the recipients have their pensions increased annually: the majority are frozen at the rate paid when they left the UK or when they became entitled.

The discrepancy arises because Britain has reciprocal agreements with about 30 countries to uprate the pensions of people who have moved there. However, it does not have such agreements with more than 150 other countries, including Australia, Canada, New Zealand or South Africa — four nations which account for more than 350,000 British pensioner exiles.

To bring all pensions up to present rates would cost at least £235 million, says the DSS, and successive Conservative and *Labour* governments have balked at imposing this extra cost on taxpayers in order to benefit people who choose to live abroad.

This gives rise to glaring anomalies. The 86,000 British pensioners living in the United States do have their payments uprated annually, but the 122,000 in Canada do not. The 133 in Finland do, but the 20 in the Falkland Islands do not — despite the islands being British sovereign territory.

Lib Dems beat Labour to Tory seat

Patrick Wintour and David Ward

THE Liberal Democrats won the ruthlessly fought Littleborough and Saddleworth byelection last week, capturing the Conservative seat with a majority of 1,993 over Labour, so thwarting the latter's attempt to leap from third to first place.

The result leaves the Conservatives' Commons majority at nine, the first time in 16 years it has been in single figures.

In one of the most unpredictable byelection battles for many years, Chris Davies, the Liberal Democrat candidate, polled 16,231, overturning a Conservative majority of 4,494 on a swing of 11.67 per cent. The Labour candidate, Phil Woolas, polled 14,238, and the Conservative candidate, John Hudson, 9,934.

The turn-out was a relatively high 64.5 per cent.

In a real achievement for Tony Blair, Mr Woolas stopped his vote suffering the traditional anti-Tory tactical byelection squeeze. The Liberal Democrat share of the vote rose 3 per cent on the general election, while Labour's share rose by 14 per cent.

The Tory share was halved from the general election, but did not wholly disintegrate, prompting Roger Freeman, the Public Services Secretary, to claim it was a turning point.

Labour's deputy leader, John Prescott, said: "The result shows dissident Tory voters are now coming straight across to Labour and not voting tactically."

Peter Mandelson, the Labour campaign manager, said: "We would have defied political gravity to leap over the Liberal Democrats and the Conservatives into first place. We fought a very strong and hard campaign. We had to because we were coming from a pretty poor third place and we had to fight to make an impact."

The byelection, caused by the death of Geoffrey Dickens in May, was marked by accusations of gutter politics.

There are fears that the bitterness of the scrap between Labour and the Liberal Democrats, described as the toughest byelection fight of modern times, will cause long-term damage to the cause of Labour-Liberal Democrat co-operation. Mr Ashdown is known to be seething at the Labour campaign, and may now find greater internal opposition to his strategy of bringing the two parties closer together.

Mr Blair, determined to show New Labour has a national and multi-class appeal, sent the entire shadow cabinet to the constituency, as well as more than 200 Labour MPs. He himself visited three times.

However, Labour, with only one councillor in the constituency as opposed to the Liberal Democrats' 49, knew it faced a massive task.

A defeat for the Liberal Democrats would have been disastrous for Mr Ashdown's party, which traditionally relies on byelection victories to boost party membership. It was also the first byelection since the Liberal Democrats announced they would not support the Conservatives in the event of a hung parliament after the next election.

Mr Ashdown has spent a frustrating year in the shadow of the all-conquering Mr Blair, but has defied predictions that his party would be crippled by Labour in the May local elections and overtaken by Labour in this byelection.

● The Liberal Democrats are to lose one of their most effective campaigners, David Alton, at the next election. He is to stand down after 16 years as an MP, disillusioned with "political correctness".

Mr Alton, best known for his campaigning on abortion issues, has adopted an increasingly hands-off relationship with his party after a series of well-publicised rows with Mr Ashdown. But he said his decision was precipitated by Boundary Commission changes which will wipe out Liverpool Mossley Hill constituency.

He is to take up a post as Professor of politics and citizenship at John Moores University in Liverpool, as well as continuing with political work.



Winning smiles . . . Lib Dem leader Paddy Ashdown and his newest MP, Chris Davies PHOTO: CHRIS THOMOND

C Davies (Lib Dem)	16,231	(39%)
P Woolas (Lab)	14,238	(34%)
J Hudson (Con)	9,934	(24%)
Majority	1,993	

Swing Con to Lib Dem 11.67%
Turnout 64.5%

Drug culture opening new generation gap

Sarah Boseley

DRUG-taking has become an integral part of youth culture and a significant part of the lives even of schoolchildren. But the attitude of adults is opening a new generation gap by forcing them into secrecy, according to the authors of a study published last week.

More than half (51 per cent) of over 700 young people in north-west England, questioned over three years between the ages of 14 and 16, had tried drugs. Many more, 76 per cent, had been offered drugs.

Howard Parker, professor of social policy at Manchester University and head of the project, said half of those, now aged 17, who had not tried drugs expected to do so within the next year. He talks of "pick 'n' mix" consumption by young people, who would as readily smoke a spliff or drop some amphetamines on a Friday night as down a designer drink or buy a round at the pub. The availability of drugs "is a normal part of the leisure-pleasure landscape", the report says.

"Over the next few years, and certainly in urban areas, non drug-trying adolescents will be a minority group. In one sense, they will be the deviants. Professionals in education, health care and the criminal justice system, politicians and parents, urgently need to acknowledge that for many young people taking drugs has become the norm."

The trend observed in the report, published by the Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence, is mirrored in research at Exeter University and the British Crime Survey, Prof Parker said. The danger is that adult society is refusing to acknowledge it and punishing young people, often by expulsion from school, if they get caught.

In the semi-private world of youth culture, where the over-30s rarely browse, drug information and images abound. Mainstream youth magazines, available in newsagents, run features on the positive and negative effects of illicit drugs. House music titles and lyrics tell of getting high.

"Advertising and marketing executives are well aware of youth drug culture and use images, music and language to tap into that drug culture," the report claims.

A covert vocabulary of drug slang excludes unknowing adults. M25s, Pink Pigs, Red Indians, Shamrocks, Brown Biscuits and Doves are all ecstasy tablets. Bart Simpsons, Batmans and Penguins are LSD trips. The adult thinks the conversation is about television watching, not a hallucinogenic experience.

The biggest problem, says Prof Parker, is the growing generation gap. "You don't get families discussing drugs. There's no open discussion between the head teacher and the lower sixth because he's just expelled someone for drugs."

The report calls for a radical rethink of the policing of drugs consumption and the role of schools. Wholesale prosecutions "of otherwise mostly law-abiding citizens . . . will do little for this generation's respect regarding the authority of the law," it says.

FO attacked over bribery at embassy

David Hencke

THE Foreign Office was last week condemned for the "appalling management" of Britain's embassy in Yemen, after it admitted it had turned a blind eye to bribery, fraud, corruption, and black market currency dealings totalling nearly £1 million among its diplomats.

The scandal, which astonished the Commons Public Accounts Committee, only fully came to light after Gerald Ryan, a former second secretary at the Sana'a embassy, shot himself last Christmas Eve while the police were investigating him for false accounting and theft. The Foreign Office admitted the scale of the scandal to the National Audit Office during a routine accounts check.

The report reveals that profiteering in black market currency deals netted £670,000 for staff. Mr Ryan took a $50,000 (£32,000) bribe for arranging a property deal for the ambassador's new home in Sana'a which cost the taxpayer £1.35 million over five years — making it one of the world's most expensive ambassadorial residences. There was no suggestion the ambassador, Douglas Scrafton, was in any way involved.

Mr Ryan also took bribes for arranging visas for Yemenis to come to Britain and was involved with a Yemeni in recruiting 18 staff to the embassy — including many of the Yemeni's relatives.

The MPs on the committee criticise the role of the Foreign Office and two successive ambassadors to the Yemen who allowed these activities to continue without a proper investigation. After the second ambassador quit, an internal audit investigation revealed 150 shortcomings in the embassy's accounting procedures — from lax control over entertainment budgets to cash payments made without receipts. "We are appalled, despite the known poor management of the post and the other warning signs, that the irregularities were not identified and acted on much earlier," say the MPs.

The MPs also condemn the £23,127 compensation payment to Mark Marshall, the first ambassador to the Yemen, who the Foreign Office admit was "guilty of appalling management" by allowing Mr Ryan to operate unchecked. He was retired early on March 15, 1993 and given extra payments worth £93,671 to make up his pension as if he had retired on October 7, 1997.

Richard Gordon, his successor, was retired 10 months early after failing to take vigorous action. He had his pension topped up by £17,586 to ensure he received a full pension up to the age of 60, plus a lump sum of £69,662.

Women-only lists cut short by Blair

Michael White

THE Labour leadership moved quickly last week to defuse a party conference timebomb over the imposition of all-women shortlists in winnable seats by insisting that Tony Blair will stick by the policy until the next election — after which it will be dropped.

The Labour leader made explicit what many MPs and officials said had been the implied position since the policy was endorsed by the party conference in 1993. Insisting even its most ardent supporters did not regard the scheme — which imposes all-women shortlists in half the vacant safe or winnable seats — as "ideal", Mr Blair said it has achieved its purpose: a "quantum leap" in the number of women MPs.

Loyalists insist the "basic culture" has been sufficiently changed by the experiment to encourage more women to come forward, and win, without special treatment.

Mr Blair told the Press Association: "It has always been accepted the purpose of this change was to increase radically the number of women MPs, which is right because women are absurdly under-represented in Parliament . . . But it was always seen as a one-off process and these arguments are, by and large, being settled and we are managing to work by consent."

A total of 35 candidates have so far been selected from women-only shortlists, but there is still strong opposition in the North-west region.

Liz Davies, a leftwing Islington councillor selected from a women-only shortlist to fight in Leeds North East, criticised Mr Blair. "I would like to see the short-list policy continued until 50 per cent of Labour MPs are women," she said.

● Bill Morris, leader of the Transport and General Workers' Union, made a conciliatory gesture to the Labour leadership at the weekend by accepting that the party will not go into the general election with a specified figure for the statutory minimum wage.

Woman who stabbed husband freed on bail

Clare Dyer and Maggie O'Kane

SARA THORNTON, jailed for life in 1990 for the murder of her violent husband, left Holloway prison in London last week after she was unexpectedly freed on bail by a High Court judge.

Lawyers said the granting of bail was a significant pointer to the likely success of her second appeal against conviction, expected to be heard in the autumn.

Ms Thornton said she was confident that her appeal would succeed. "I know what my case is and I've always been confident." She stabbed her husband to death while he slept off a drinking bout after 10 months of a violent and drunken marriage.

Ms Thornton, aged 38, went to a secret home in the country found for her by the campaigning group Justice for Women, after Mr Justice Sachs granted her bail.

She has become an icon for battered women and the centre of a campaign for better treatment for women who are driven to kill brutal partners.

Her original appeal was dismissed in 1991. The Court of Appeal declined to reduce her conviction to manslaughter on the grounds of provocation.

The judges held that she had cooled down when she went to the kitchen to get the knife, and had not acted "in hot blood" as the defence requires.

Last month, the Appeal Court freed Emma Humphreys, the judges ruling that the cumulative effects of domestic violence can be taken into account when provocation is pleaded.

Richard Ferguson QC, former chairman of the Criminal Bar Association, said the judge would have been influenced by the strength of the grounds of appeal. He said the decision was typical of Mr Justice Sachs, a judge of "common sense and humanity" and the first solicitor to reach the High Court bench.

Mr Thornton's sister, Jean Murray, who has always claimed he was not violent, said she was "totally disgusted" and would write to the Home Office in protest.

● Two sisters who were convicted of murder but later freed have lost their battle to force the Attorney-General to prosecute newspapers who subjected them to "trial by media".

Though the reporting did "no credit to the tabloid press", Lord Justice Stuart-Smith and Mr Justice Butterfield ruled in the High Court in London that the Attorney-General's decisions on whether to take legal action are not subject to challenge in the courts.

Even had they power to intervene, they would not have done so because the decision not to prosecute was neither irrational nor unlawful.

Michelle and Lisa Taylor, of Forest Hill, south London, wanted prosecutions brought against the Sun, Daily Mirror, Daily Mail, Daily Express and South London Press. The two were convicted at the Old Bailey in 1992 of the murder of Alison Shaughnessy, who had married Michelle's former lover.

The convictions were quashed a year later, when the Appeal Court ruled that prejudicial publicity and material irregularities at their trial made them unsafe.



Sara Thornton delighted as she leaves jail PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ARGLES

Sacking law breached

Clare Dyer

THE Government could face compensation claims totalling millions of pounds after a Court of Appeal ruling on Monday that Britain's unfair dismissal laws breach European law.

Three judges held that legislation introduced 10 years ago barring employees who have worked less than two years from bringing unfair dismissal claims discriminates against women. In 1985 the Government increased the qualifying period, previously one year, arguing that it would create more jobs.

The decision opens the way for women sacked between 1985 and 1991, after working at least one year but less than two for the same employer, to claim compensation for loss of jobs.

Women sacked after 1991, and men dismissed after a year but less than two years in a job, may also be able to claim, according to a barrister specialising in employment law.

The Government argued that reducing the limit would mean fewer jobs would be available. But "on the evidence before us the Secretary of State has failed to prove that the increase in the threshold has increased employment opportunities," said Lord Justice Neill.

The case was brought by Camden Community Law Centre on behalf of two secretaries, Nicole Seymour-Smith and Laura Perez. Both were sacked in 1991 after 15 months in their jobs, Ms Seymour-Smith at an estate agency and Ms Perez at a building firm. They took their case to an industrial tribunal.

Police 'unlawfully' restricted animal trade

Alex Bellos and Clare Dyer

THE FIGHT against live animal exports suffered a setback last week when the High Court ruled that Sussex police were acting unlawfully in restricting shipments through the port of Shoreham.

The export company, International Traders Ferry, succeeded in quashing the restrictions. Lord Justice Balcombe and Mr Justice Popplewell ruled that the police had breached European Union trading laws.

The chief constable of Sussex, Paul Whitehouse, who told the company in April that it could export only twice a week or four times a fortnight because policing animal rights demonstrations was a drain on resources, was given leave to appeal.

But if the ruling is upheld it could pave the way for the exporters to claim compensation for lost business and the cost of transferring their operations to Dover — which could run into hundreds of thousands of pounds.

Sussex police, ordered to pay the costs of the challenge, has spent £4 million on policing demonstrations — which attracted several thousand protesters at their peak in January — at the port.

The police authority would be seeking a meeting with the Home Secretary to discuss extra funding. Shielding the lorry convoys five days a week over a whole year would cost at least £7.4 million.

Animal rights groups were united in condemning the judgment, and said that campaigning would continue. Joyce D'Silva, director of Compassion in World Farming, said: "Yet again British justice has been seen to be protecting the exporter.

Lord Justice Balcombe said the restrictions were within the chief constable's discretion and therefore lawful under English law. But they breached the Treaty of Rome, which banned measures that had the effect of limiting exports between EC member states.

The judges rejected the police argument that the need to maintain public order was sufficient ground for restricting the movement of goods.

● The directors of Phoenix Aviation, which ran veal flights, have blamed animal rights protesters for forcing them out of business. They claim that demonstrations had been partly responsible for the company's £1 million debts, revealed at a creditors meeting last week.

A statement from the directors, Christopher and Maria Barrett-Jolley, to creditors also blamed the crash at Coventry Airport last December as well as the high-profile media coverage of the protests for the firm going into liquidation.

Women may store eggs for 20 years

John Mullin

RESEARCHERS investigating new methods of in vitro fertilisation believe they are on the threshold of a big advance in the technique, which would greatly extend a woman's child-bearing years.

Robert Winston, professor of reproductive medicine at Hammersmith Hospital, west London, believes they will find a way, possibly by the end of the century, to remove and freeze ovarian tissue using liquid nitrogen.

Each sample would contain hundreds of eggs, which could be matured in the laboratory for IVF treatment as many as 20 years after the original biopsy.

As well as helping women to achieve career goals before having children, the process would have vital benefits for women about to undergo cancer treatment, Prof Winston told BBC Radio last week. "Women with breast cancer, leukaemia or Hodgkin's disease run the risk of sterility when they begin treatment. So this would given them a chance of having children."

Initial findings of the research, which began two years ago, will be published soon. Specialists have taken from women's ovaries microscopic follicles containing eggs, and have so far grown eggs to the antral stage, the first yardstick of maturity necessary before IVF can succeed.

Prof Winston said: "We are looking at five to 10 years before it might be applicable. IVF treatment would be one fifth the cost, much more accessible and much less intrusive, involving only a minor biopsy. There would be no drugs involved and no monitoring of a patient."

Some critics recommend improved arrangements for child care to allow career women to have fulfilling family lives at the age nature intended, rather than delaying childbirth until they felt secure enough in their profession.

In Brief

FORMER prisoners of war visiting Tokyo in an effort to get an apology for their treatment in the second world war suffered another snub when a meeting between the PoWs — representing 30,000 others from Australia, New Zealand, Britain and the US, and Korean guards who ran Japanese prison camps — was cancelled after no guards turned up.

CHARGES against two Palestinians accused of bombing the Israeli embassy and a Jewish centre in London in July last year were dropped as the prosecution said it had insufficient evidence.

HOME REPOSSESSIONS have risen for the first time in four years with little prospect of house prices increasing this side of a general election.

THE MINISTRY of Defence agreed to further research into so-called Gulf war syndrome as over 500 veterans warned that they intend to sue over alleged illnesses arising from service in Operation Desert Storm.

REGULATORS of privatised utilities have seen their pay jump by up to 146 per cent over the past 10 years — more than double the pay rises of workers in the industries they look after.

REDUCTION in quality and quantity of sperm counts in British men, coupled with an increase of testicular and breast cancer, appear to be linked to chemicals in food which interfere with sex hormones.

TWO CHILD murder inquiries are under way after the discovery of the bodies of two boys who had been fishing on Merseyside and that of a seven-year-old girl abducted from a tent in North Wales.

PRIVATE Lee Clegg has been told he can stay in the army. However, Pte Clegg, released from Wakefield prison last month after serving four years for the murder of a Belfast joyrider, may not stay in the Parachute regiment.

THE DEADLINE for local authorities to sign up for the Government's nursery education voucher scheme has been postponed indefinitely due to lack of volunteers.

MOTORWAY tolling will be given a £10 million test run on the M3 next year in spite of opposition from motoring organisations which called it a "poll tax on wheels".

MARK THATCHER finally won a long battle to keep his controversial business dealings out of court. He settled a $500,000 feud with a US fuel company but still faces a $2.7 million tax evasion case.

Please lock your weapons away

IT IS JUST a group of coral reefs with a maximum height of three metres above sea level. But Greenpeace has again embarrassed French pride by revealing that three of its members atoll-hopped for 12 days under the nose of armed commandos. The government in Paris is on the defensive. Last week the French defence minister only half-denied a report that Japan had been told it was technically possible to halve the tests planned on the Mururoa Atoll — from eight to four. This is a futile sop to Japanese politicians who have agreed on a resolution calling on both France and China to stop testing. The first test is apparently planned for September with a contemptuous disregard for the 50th anniversary of Hiroshima. Germany may hesitate to offend its European neighbour by a Shell-type boycott, but Japanese consumers' associations are already targeting the cognacs and haute couture in Tokyo department stores.

The former Australian prime minister, Gough Whitlam, has now backed calls for Australia and New Zealand to take France to the International Court of Justice. It was Mr Whitlam's government who took France to the court in 1973 over atmospheric tests, forcing it to go underground at Mururoa. Since then France has withdrawn from the court's jurisdiction, but an approach to the court would be a further embarrassment. President-Emperor Jacques Chirac has already been shouted down by protesters at the European Parliament, and his inaugural display of nuclear chauvinism is turning into a running humiliation.

But the French tests may still play a useful role by submitting the theology of nuclear deterrence to closer, awkward inspection. All the nuclear powers have said that before a comprehensive test ban treaty can be concluded they must be fully satisfied that they can in future simulate testing by other techniques. France and China differ from the others only in claiming they still need a few more real tests to establish the point. Most people would assume that the signing of the CTBT would (and should) result in a freeze on the development of new nuclear weapons. Surely there is no need now for the endless competitive refinement of intricate matching systems which were a compulsive feature of the cold war. Why not put them in the cupboard and keep them there? In reality all the powers intend to continue research into new and better weapons and there is still no final agreement over what constitutes a nuclear weapon test explosion. What if at some later date one of the nuclear five decides that, after all, the simulation techniques are not effective? As long as weapons development continues, and in spite of improved verification techniques, there will always be an incentive to cheat. This will continue unless and until minimum deterrents can be set which are also subject to some form of international inspection — a whole new agenda which has yet to be opened up.

Time to relax Iraq sanctions

FIVE YEARS after the Gulf war began, Iraq has taken two steps which present the allies with an alarming "threat". Last week Baghdad started to destroy five machines that could be used to make ballistic missile parts — an act it previously refused to undertake. It also began to comply with United Nations demands to submit its biological weapons programme to examination, after persistent foot-dragging. The "threat" lies in the probability that Iraq will soon have satisfied the requirements imposed after the war for lifting an important part of international sanctions against it. The US and Britain, already under pressure from the other members of the Permanent Five, will soon have no excuse left to prevent the embargo on Iraq's oil exports being removed when the policy is next reviewed in September. How can they escape?

Up till now, they have been helped by Saddam Hussein himself. He has been dragged protesting all the way to unravel the secrets of his exotic weapons programmes (which the West helped to build up) as well as to recognise the existence of the state of Kuwait he had once claimed as part of his own. Step-by-step compliance has been marred by initial obstruction which forfeited such sympathy as might have otherwise been earned. Even the latest acts were soured by Saddam's threat, repeated last week by the foreign minister in Cairo, to cease co-operation with the UN if the weapons inspectors do not finish their work by the end of July. This also weakened the value to Iraq of having released the two US civilians arrested after crossing the Kuwait border. Only a month ago, Baghdad was still insisting it would never destroy the five machines now being dismantled.

While the monitoring imposed by the Security Council in Resolution 687 on Iraq's weapons programme is unprecedently intrusive, the international community has failed to act with similar energy to oppose the regime's human rights abuses. International humanitarian aid is fettered by restrictions which give Baghdad considerable scope for blocking and control. The terms have actually been tightened rather than improved while funding has declined through donor fatigue. As Middle East Report* comments in a special survey, sanctions only intensify the suffering which the UN and NGOs seek to relieve. In the words of one exasperated aid worker, "we break their legs and then give them crutches".

The irony is that the US and Britain have opposed the end of the oil import embargo, even if the terms of Paragraph 22 of Resolution 687 are satisfied, on the grounds that such a "literal interpretation" of its provisions ignores the larger human rights perspective. Yet one of the most basic of all human rights — to live free from hunger and deprivation — is being denied to the vast majority of the Iraqi people as a consequence of the same allies' insistence. Washington says it intends to maintain sanctions even if it means "moving the goalposts". Yet the US and its regional allies were notoriously reluctant to support the uprising in southern Iraq after the war, and have made little secret of their worries about who might succeed Saddam. The autonomous "safe area" of Kurdistan, though protected by allied overflights, languishes in an international limbo.

Even some Iraqi opposition groups now accept that Saddam's repression is only strengthened by continued punishment of his people through blanket sanctions. There is a strong case now for relaxation and the problem needs to be argued through.

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In the image of Mammon

THERE'S an office in Frankfurt where bankers, historians, artists and psychologists are applying the combined powers of their massive intellects to the problem of the single currency. Or problems. Not the problems of if and when it will arrive but what to call the little darling.

The Maastricht Treaty of distant memory (1992) went for Ecu, acronym for European Currency Unit. The French liked this because they had a coin of this name in the Three Musketeers' days or thereabouts, but the Germans say ein Ecu sounds like eine Kuh, a cow. To the British this is a frivolous objection since for years we have put up with a unit of currency called a pee. Then there's the mark, which reminds people of young Thatcher, and the franken which makes people think of Frankenstein. It really is quite difficult. Perhaps we could have something with a piratical ring to it, like doubloon or ducat or pieces of eight — or, more appropriately, pieces of twelve. Or a wunch, as in the collective term "a wunch of bankers".

Then there's the problem of whose mug is going to be on the notes and coins. The Frankfurters are doubtless looking at a range of existing currencies in hope of inspiration. The US has Washington for its dollar, Italy has in ascending financial value Maria Montessori, Marconi, Bellini and Volta, and France has Saint-Exupéry at 50 francs, Delacroix at 100 and Pierre and Marie Curie at 500 francs.

Rumour has it that the Frankfurters are thinking of putting poor old bankrupt Rembrandt on the new currency, which seems equally daft. Anyway, the time has come to call a halt to this sort of thing. Bits of Beethoven have been hijacked by organisations he might well not have approved of, any more than we have reason to suppose that Puccini had football hooligans in mind when he wrote Nessun Dorma. No, if an image is needed for the new currency then the sensible thing is to commission Sir Eduardo Paolozzi to produce a depiction of Mammon.

To arm or not to arm, that is the gamble

Martin Woollacott
in Sarajevo

THE US Senate's vote in favour of lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia is a distraction and could be a danger at a time when western policy on Bosnia has begun to show some coherence and some military logic. Bosnia has been made into a pawn in a game against President Clinton by politicians who study their advantage in the United States but have not cared to look honestly at the situation on the ground in Bosnia itself.

With good management, the vote — and that to come in the House of Representatives — can be defused of its dangerous potential and will not trigger a French, and therefore a United Nations, decision to withdraw. Indeed, the potential bridge between advocates of a lifting of the arms embargo and their opponents is already apparent, in the shape of the greater powers to order air strikes. Strike and Stay is beginning to emerge as a realistic alternative to Lift and Strike.

What the delegation of strike power to UN military commanders would ideally mean is that French and British officers could call on a Nato air capacity that is largely American for a whole range of missions, up to and including the "disproportionate response" with which the US secretary of defence, William Perry, came to the London conference last month.

Bosnian government rhetoric welcomes the US vote. "This will be written in golden letters in the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina," Haris Silajdzic, the prime minister, said. Yet this is the same government which last year let President Clinton off the hook by in effect withdrawing its request for a lifting of the embargo. It is likely now that they are still playing the risky game of asking for things that they do not want in order to get things that they do. In this case, a toughened UN force with real air power at hand is almost certainly still preferable, in Bosnian eyes, to a withdrawal of the UN.

It is not that lifting the arms embargo is an insane idea as much as that it is a question of timing and judgment. Is the Bosnian government really ready for a UN withdrawal? They know that such a withdrawal would have a massive effect on the economy, on civilian morale, and on the military situation, since it would almost certainly precipitate an intense effort by the Serbs to finish off the Bosnians.

Nor should the influence of the UN in making less likely any renewal of hostilities between Croatians and Bosnian Muslims be underestimated. The Croat-Muslim federation, one writer has said, rests on glass pillars. Franjo Tudjman, the Croatian leader, is still inwardly hesitating between his alliance with the Bosnian government and a deal with Serbia despite the latest Croatian attacks against the breakaway region of Krajina.

The necessary period of training with new tanks and other weapons would inevitably be seen by the Serbs as their window for major attacks. Sarajevo, the heart and soul of Bosnia, depends on the UN in a hundred ways. UN experts keep its arteries open, attending to water, electricity and gas supplies which, though meagre, remain just adequate. The city has no economy, except that generated by the UN, and by the non-governmental organisations who operate with UN protection. The psychological impact of running down the blue flag would also be enormous, and the military deterrent represented by the 3,000 French soldiers here, although eroded, is far from insignificant.

Most importantly, the question of the competence of Bosnia's armed forces is not settled. The Bosnians have problems that cannot be entirely accounted for by their smaller resources and the fact that their army, unlike that of the Bosnian Serbs, had to be created from scratch.

Since May, the Bosnians have lost Srebrenica and Zepa and, recently, much of Bihac. Srebrenica and Zepa were UN failures. But Bihac is not. A big Bosnian offensive around Sarajevo had some partial success but was costly, and Bosnian gains elsewhere have not impeded or distracted Serb attacks.

The military commentator of Oslobodjenje, the main Sarajevo paper, speaks of a strategy of attrition "to destroy and completely stretch out the aggressor's manpower and gradually to eliminate his advantages in armament and equipment . . . The lines are breathing on all fronts today."

The trouble is that this can be true and at the same time not cancel out, for some time to come, the combat power of a Bosnian Serb army which has a professionally led, well equipped reserve and shock force. This is a kind of travelling military circus, with its own staff officers, plenty of tanks and guns, and above-average infantry which can be focused on task after task. In Ratko Mladic the Bosnian Serbs have an able general who outmatches his opponents in mobile warfare. He may have gone one step too far in provoking a Croat offensive in western Bosnia, but that fight is not yet over.

LAST WINTER the Bosnian army was re-organised — some say with American advice. The idea was to shake out the unwieldy corps in each region, so that they could support each other rather than just fight their local wars. It was also to create a mobile force outside the corps structure with which to confront Mladic. So far the re-organisation has brought some successes but no attacks big enough to distract Mladic from his seizure of the enclaves.

As Paddy Ashdown, the British Liberal Democrat leader, said here recently, the Bosnian government has to be "very sure" that its estimate is accurate, if it decides that it wants the UN forces out, the embargo lifted, and to fight alone, at least on the ground. The risk is considerable, and the question that both Bosnian and American politicians ought to consider is whether it is worth taking, at least until the new stance of the UN and Nato has been fully tested. Robert Dole may speak emotively of people killed and raped and of the slitting of little boys' throats, but the real issue is not whether "people have a right to defend themselves", but what is the best way to do so.

Dreadful dawn of the atomic age

On the 50th anniversary of the Hiroshima attack, **Martin Walker** traces the Bomb's fearful history

Hiroshima, August 1945: 92,000 people were killed and the city razed PHOTOGRAPH: CAMERA PRESS

THE NUCLEAR age began in a flat and arid stretch of the New Mexico desert which had been dubbed by the first Spanish explorers the Jornado del Muerto, the journey of death.

On July 16, 1945, as Stalin and Churchill and Truman met for their victory summit at Potsdam, outside the devastated ruins of Berlin, the Jornado del Muerto witnessed the culmination of the biggest and most secret industrial project of the war.

"The first full-scale test was made of the implosion-type, atomic fission bomb. For the first time in history there was a nuclear explosion. And what an explosion!" began the official report sent to Potsdam by General Leslie Groves, the military engineer who commanded the Manhattan Project.

General Groves's report took five days to reach Berlin. And it took Henry Stimson, the Secretary for War, an hour to read the full version aloud to President Truman, with its conclusion that the explosion had "far exceeded the most optimistic expectations and wildest hopes of the scientists".

The next day, Stimson read the same report to Churchill and, three days later, Truman's diary notes that he "casually mentioned to Stalin that we had a new weapon of unusually destructive force".

It came as no surprise to the Soviet leader. In Ottawa on July 9, a week before the New Mexico test, one of the British physicists on the project, Dr Alan Nunn May, met his contact, Colonel Zabotin of the Soviet Embassy to Canada. He gave Zabotin "162 micrograms of Uranium 233, in the form of acid, contained in a thick lamina".

With the war in the Pacific still under way, and the British and Americans desperate to persuade their Soviet ally to join in the final assault against the Japanese mainland, the classic contours of the cold war had been set, of a nuclear confrontation, moderated by espionage.

When Churchill heard the news at Potsdam, he reached for a Biblical term — "the Second Coming in Wrath" — to comprehend its portent. Harry Truman, the new US president, was still reeling from the impact of the First, in the awesome evidence of the power of conventional bombing, all around them in Berlin.

He scribbled almost random names of ruin and war's horror into his diary after his first sight of Hitler's destroyed capital: "I thought of Carthage, Baalbek, Jerusalem, Rome, Atlantis, Peking . . . of Scipio, Rameses II, Sherman, Jenghiz Khan."

At Potsdam, Churchill and Truman agreed to use the bomb against Japan. Within the month, the next two nuclear explosions took place at Hiroshima, killing some 92,000 Japanese, and at Nagasaki, killing another 40,000.

And for 50 years since that dreadful dawn, the age of nuclear warfare has been held in check. The nuclear weapon has become a metaphysical force. Once it was used, and its devastation understood, a human code slowly but implacably developed which required that it never be unleashed again. If it were, it came to be realised, organised human life would come to an end.

The military men were slow to realise it. Ten weeks after Hiroshima, the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon produced a top-secret paper entitled Strategic Vulnerability of Russia to a Limited Air Attack. It was a plan to destroy 20 of the largest Soviet cities with atomic bombs. They included Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky, Tashkent, Baku and Novosibirsk, although not Kiev in the Ukraine, because it had been destroyed by the conventional war just ended.

The Pentagon dusted off their contingency plans to use atomic bombs against the Soviet Union during the Berlin crisis of 1948 — a year before the first Soviet bomb was tested.

'You must be crazy. We can't use those awful things against Asians for the second time in less than 10 years' — *Eisenhower*

In 1953 the US warned China, through Indian diplomatic channels, that they had sent atomic bombers to the theatre and were considering their use unless China agreed to an armistice in the Korean war. The Pentagon also recommended the use of three tactical nuclear weapons against the Vietnamese forces threatening the French fortress of Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

The final decision not to go nuclear in Asia was taken by Eisenhower himself, after the British allies refused to accede to his plea for "united action" to contain China. Eisenhower later told his biographer that he had said to his nuclear-minded advisers: "You must be crazy. We can't use those awful things against Asians for the second time in less than 10 years. My God."

But 10 years after that, faced this time with an American humiliation in Vietnam, the memoirs of Robert McNamara reveal that Eisenhower, now an elder statesman, counselled President Lyndon Johnson to warn Moscow and Beijing that the US would resort to nuclear war to prevent defeat.

The world has had three dangerously close brushes with full-scale nuclear war. One was the result of a deliberate Soviet attempt to establish a nuclear balance, by trying in 1962 secretly to install nuclear-tipped missiles in Cuba.

On Black Saturday, when it was not clear whether the Soviet Union would accept the naval quarantine of Cuba and US Defence Secretary Robert McNamara believed that a US invasion was now virtually inevitable, Dean Acheson told President Kennedy that the missiles would have to be knocked out. He was asked, according to the accounts in the Kennedy Library's oral history programme, what the Soviets would do then.

"I know the Soviets well. I know what they are required to do in the light of their history and their posture around the world. I think they will knock out our missiles in Turkey," said Acheson, US Secretary of State, who was the father of the Nato alliance.

"What do we do then?" he was asked.

"I believe under our Nato treaty, with which I was associated, we would be required to respond by knocking out a missile base inside the Soviet Union," Acheson went on.

"Then what do they do?"

"That is when we hope," Acheson replied, "that cooler heads will prevail, and they will stop and talk."

Acheson had summed up the essential absurdity of nuclear theory. It was predicated on the assurance of rationality in the most irrational of circumstances. It relied upon the maintenance of clear chains of political command over the generals in circumstances when the military would feel it their duty to assume the responsibility for national survival.

It represented, in the most lofty councils of a superpower, the mathematics of the school playground; that in exchange for a base in Cuba, a base in Turkey should be destroyed, and then a base in Russia, in an escalating pattern of retaliation that offered no obvious relief.

War was finally averted by a secret deal, denied at the time, that the US would remove its nuclear missiles from Turkey in return for the Soviets dismantling their installations in Cuba. "We have been had," complained Admiral George Anderson to Kennedy, as the Pentagon's joint chiefs of staff protested. The Air Force chief, General Curtis Le May, who was later to advocate bombing North Vietnam "back to the Stone Age", was so wrought up that he banged his fist on the table, and insisted "It's the greatest defeat in our history, Mr President . . . We should invade today."

The second brush with Armageddon was a deliberate US attempt to warn the Soviet Union, in 1973, that the military defeat of its Israeli ally in the confused closing days of the Yom Kippur war could not be tolerated.

The move to DefCon 3, the highest state of nuclear alert short of war, was authorised by Dr Henry Kissinger, without the authority of a President Nixon who was distraught by the Watergate scandal. DefCon 3 involved pre-launch checks of nuclear missiles, and the B-52 bombers taking off with their nuclear bombs armed, and flying in pre-set holding patterns.

The third time, in the autumn of 1983, was the result of a misunderstanding. The Soviet leadership believed not only their own propaganda about the readiness of the aggressive western alliance of President Reagan and Mrs Thatcher to launch a pre-emptive nuclear war, but made the more understandable mistake of believing what pugnacious western politicians actually said.

Jittery Soviet nerves, and the shooting down of the Korean airline KAL 007, coincided with an alarmingly realistic Nato exercise. Code-named Able Archer, it rehearsed US reinforcements of its forces in Germany and the full procedures for launching nuclear war, including the disappearance of President Reagan and the joint chiefs to a secret command post.



A Japanese victim of the A-bomb

Soviet nuclear bombers were despatched to the ends of their runways in East Germany, their engines running. The KGB ordered its stations in London and Bonn to burn all files, in advance of the imminent western raids. Alerted by electronic intelligence, national security adviser Bud McFarlane cancelled Reagan's planned trip to the bunker and the crisis eased.

We may draw the grim conclusion that had matters been left to the military men, the world would by now have known nuclear war. Their slow taming by the politicians, and by civilian nuclear theorists, created the perilous stability that became the essential geo-political environment of our lives, the balance of nuclear terror.

Nuclear theorists like Herman Kahn in his magisterial study, On Thermonuclear War, brought concepts like counter-force and second-strike into the general vocabulary. But by thinking aloud, Kahn made the idea of such a war thinkable, and argued that such a war would be survivable.

There would be much more human tragedy, he acknowledged, and devastating levels of radiation.

'The idea is to kill the bastards. At the end of the war, if there are two Americans and one Russian, we win' — *Gen Powers*

But "the increase would not preclude normal and happy lives for the majority of survivors and their descendants". The appalled review of Kahn's book in Scientific American commented: "This is a moral tract on mass murder: how to plan it, how to commit it, how to get away with it, how to justify it."

And now with Israel, India and Pakistan widely presumed to be nuclear powers, and states from Iran and Iraq to North Korea plainly intent on joining their ranks, that learning process must begin all over again.

Their generals are unlikely to react very differently from the legendary 1960s head of America's Strategic Air Command, General Tommy Powers. He was famous for laughing off the effects of nuclear radiation on genetic mutations with the quip: "Nobody has yet proved to me that two heads aren't better than one."

General Powers had little time for the civilian nuclear theorists who talked of counter-force strategies, deliberately avoiding Soviet cities and attacking only their missile bases.

"Restraint? Why are you so concerned with saving their lives. The whole idea is to kill the bastards," he shouted at nuclear strategist William Kaufmann during a briefing on the prospects of "limited" nuclear war. "At the end of the war, if there are two Americans and one Russian, we win."

Kaufmann retorted: "Then you had better make sure that the Americans are a man and a woman."

Why the Asian tigers burn so bright

Co-ordinated investment lies at the heart of an economic miracle in south-east Asia, writes **Will Hutton**

PRESIDENT Park Chung-Hee's first action when he became president of South Korea in 1961 was to arrest some of the country's leading businessmen under the Illicit Wealth Accumulation Act. They had been profiteering, he insisted, awarding themselves large personal bonuses, manipulating profits and refusing to invest. Only when they agreed to increase investment in those industries which the government prioritised were they released.

Yet despite such minor falls from grace, South Korea, and its dynamic Asian twin, Taiwan, exert a powerful influence on the imagination of the British right. Here are living exemplars of the triumph of free-market capitalism over all other forms of economic and social organisation, and Britain should aim to emulate them. While other foreign models, such as the German financial system or the Swedish labour market, are regarded as foreign, alien and impossible to reproduce in unique Britain, Taiwan and South Korea are seen as home from home.

Putting a few businessmen behind bars for awarding themselves stock options rather than generating output and jobs is seen as an authoritarian aberration, part of Asian culture, which does not change the basic picture. Success is due to minimal government and regulation, low taxes and free trade, which they have exploited to produce a remarkable growth in exports.

Other developing countries tried to grow via a big state-led "growth push", usually behind highly protected domestic markets. Poor mites. They should have followed the free-trade example of South Korea and Taiwan. However, in the latest edition of Economic Policy, published by the Centre for Economic Policy Research, Dani Rodrik of Columbia University paints a different picture of what lay behind South Korea and Taiwan's growth miracle. It was not education, free trade and low regulation that drove the process, he says, but investment.

Far from disproving the "big push" theory, that the state has to enter the ring and decisively change the trajectory of savings, investment and the pattern of development which otherwise gets locked into low equilibrium, Taiwan and South Korea are triumphant examples of the theory at work. Investment was held back by market failure, which lowered the expected returns; creative government intervention unblocked the market failure, and so triggered the investment boom.

There has already been growing recognition that the Asian success story is more complicated than free-market theorists would have us believe, with the World Bank in 1993 acknowledging that Asian governments had successfully delivered a skilled and educated workforce.

In addition, South Korea and Taiwan were helped by having few groups and firms which did so well out of the status quo that they obstructed development; there was remarkable equality of income.

Sometimes, the bank conceded, "market friendly" intervention in the economy also helped, but it was reluctant to give its seal of approval to such politically incorrect notions. Exports and an "outward orientation" were the real keys to success.



Rodrik's account goes much further, and is theoretically more interesting. Exports could not have been the driver of growth, he argues, because they represented such a small proportion of national output and the spillover effects were in any case tiny. Nor was the build-up of exports driven by super-competitive exchange rates; in both countries the real exchange rate has hardly changed over 30 years. It was not strong export growth that caused them to invest and grow; rather it was high levels of investment that delivered export growth.

So why did investment rise? Rodrik refuses to accept the new-right view that any government attempt to raise investment must be self-defeating because it will lower the rate of return. In this world-view the stock of physical capital is at some equilibrium, producing the desired rates of return entrepreneurs seek, given the cost of financial capital and entrepreneurs' assessment of risk; a government-induced rise in the stock of capital will automatically lower this rate of return, and thus be self-defeating because it will block further investment growth.

Not so, says Rodrik. This assumes that the investment markets are perfectly co-ordinated, so that the cost of financial capital and the returns from physical investment have arrived at the best point of balance for the economy at large. But if there are co-ordination failures, so that the returns from physical investment are too low or the returns demanded by finance capital too high, it is possible for investment to get trapped at low levels.

The proof that market economies suffer from widespread co-ordination failures is one of the battering rams of the New Keynesian economics, using new developments in game theory to drive the point home. An article by Russell Cooper and Andrew John in New Keynesian Economics, edited by Greg Mankiw and David Romer (MIT Press), summarises the principal arguments.

IN MOST economic situations, they say, the pay-off of any one player's action is likely to impact on another, so that, for example, if all firms raise their investment, then returns rise rather than fall because overall demand rises. The trick is to find some way of moving from condition one to condition two, the benefits of which market prices alone cannot signal. Indeed, if there is no market incentive for any firm to change its existing strategy — which, by definition, there cannot be — the mutual gains from an all-round change of strategies can never be captured. That is a co-ordination failure.

Rodrik says that in the 1950s, South Korea and Taiwan were suffering acutely from such co-ordination failures. They had highly educated and skilled labour forces, so that if individual firms could all be persuaded to lift investment there would be mutual benefits, but any individual firm acting alone would find the process unrewarding. Moreover, investment returns for any individual firm were depressed by the cost and difficulty of finding reliable subcontractors in an only partially industrialised economy and the prospect that, having built an expensive production run, demand would be insufficient. The economies were trapped in low-output equilibriums with poor returns to new investment.

It was an array of government interventions that broke the logjam, argues Rodrik. Critically, all were within the context of relatively open economies, so that the price mechanism allowed efficient resource allocation, and within relatively egalitarian, well-educated societies. The nationalisation of the banking system by the Koreans and the introduction of the Statute for Encouragement of Investment in Taiwan were key mechanisms for lowering the cost of capital and lengthening investment time horizons, thus unravelling the co-ordination problem in the financial markets.

In Taiwan, a government agency organised the dissemination of foreign technology and best practice, taking particular care to construct chains of subcontractors in sectors and industries where Taiwan had no representation. In Korea, the government allowed the emergence of huge conglomerates, in effect allowing one group to construct its own supply chain.

Public investment set out to create new industries which the market itself would not have produced, and whose establishment also generated demand for allied firms and contractors. In Taiwan, glass, cement and plastics factories were established by the state, and then handed over to private entrepreneurs; in Korea the government set up a state-owned steel mill, which is now the world's most efficient steel producer.

Herein, argues Rodrik, is the secret of Korean and Taiwanese success. Education and training are necessary but insufficient conditions for sustained growth; what matters is solving co-ordination failures, and in this context President Park's arrest of businessmen, far from being an aberration, was part of a wider process.

For Britain the lessons are stark. The UK also needs a big push on investment, but without surrendering to Asian authoritarianism. The Conservatives abjure intervention; Labour wants change but refuses to will the means — explicitly excluding significant reform of the financial system, public investment or British supply chains. Co-ordination failures rule — and will continue to do so.

Clarke U-turn on shares tax

THE UK CHANCELLOR of the Exchequer, Kenneth Clarke, caved in to intense pressure from rebel Conservative backbenchers when he announced a U-turn on his plans to tax executive share options.

In a climbdown aimed at preventing the row rumbling on through the summer, the Chancellor said that tougher tax treatment would only affect share options agreed after July 17.

To the anger of Opposition MPs, the move will mean directors of the privatised utilities — the original focus of the Greenbury report on top people's pay — will be unaffected by the tax change.

Mr Clarke put a brave face on his about-turn. He conceded that it would be wrong to tax the profits on all existing approved executive share option schemes as income rather than capital gains — a move which would have affected middle-management and even supermarket check-out staff as well as "fat cats".

The shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, said Mr Clarke's second U-turn had "let the directors of privatised utilities off scot free.

"Senior executives of the utilities are sitting on £100 million worth of share options profits and the Chancellor has given them the green light to cash them in free of income tax."

In Brief

WALT Disney has expanded its growing empire with the acquisition of Capital Cities, owner of ABC, America's premier television network — at $19 billion the second biggest takeover yet recorded.

PANIC gripped Japan's financial system as thousands of depositors withdrew 63 billion yen ($700 million) from Cosmo Credit Corporation, the country's fourth-biggest credit union, forcing the government to stop it trading.

THREE big US unions representing steelworkers, technicians and car workers have agreed to a merger that will create America's largest union, with more than 2 million members.

WALL Street banking giant Salomon Brothers has denied accusations of wrongdoing after being named as the second bank under investigation by the Paris Stock Exchange for alleged insider dealing in Eurotunnel shares.

THE £2.5 billion agreed bid by Hanson for Britain's largest regional electricity company, Eastern, brought accusations from Labour that the Government was engendering a "casino mentality" in the industry.

A TREASURY investigation into the bungled £4 billion sale of shares in National Power and PowerGen has cleared its officials of any wrongdoing. The Stock Exchange accepted the report's findings, but Labour called it a Treasury whitewash.

THE boardroom pay boom shows no sign of slowing down, with senior executives averaging an 11 per cent increase this year and 187 company directors earning over $780,000 annually, according to a survey of top salaries by the independent Labour Research Group.

VIRGIN Atlantic Airways is to enter the African market next spring with daily flights to Johannesburg.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling rates July 24	Sterling rates July 31
Australia	2.1653-2.1678	2.1631-2.1659
Austria	15.54-15.57	15.61-15.64
Belgium	45.44-45.54	45.49-45.59
Canada	2.1674-2.1704	2.1868-2.1899
Denmark	8.60-8.61	8.59-8.60
France	7.67-7.68	7.63-7.64
Germany	2.2098-2.2129	2.2114-2.2145
Hong Kong	12.32-12.33	12.35-12.36
Ireland	0.9691-0.9732	0.9698-0.9723
Italy	2,551-2,561	2,540-2,544
Japan	139.62-139.86	140.89-141.14
Netherlands	2.4762-2.4795	2.4807-2.4840
New Zealand	2.361-2.364	2.374-2.377
Norway	9.81-9.83	9.75-9.81
Portugal	231.59-232.22	230.80-231.63
Spain	189.87-190.16	190.10-190.39
Sweden	11.40-11.43	11.27-11.29
Switzerland	1.8361-1.8389	1.8368-1.8395
USA	1.5972-1.5982	1.5974-1.5984
ECU	1.1928-1.1943	N/A

FTSE100 Share index up 31.6 at 3463.2. FTSE 250 index up 28.7 at 3828.0. Gold down $3.35 at $383.60.

French policy on Bosnia put under strain

Pascale Robert-Diard and Jean-Baptiste de Montvalon

BOSNIA was down for a debate in the French National Assembly on June 6. But that was five days before the first round of voting in the local government elections, and deputies had other things on their minds. Even the chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Commission, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who was in Clermont-Ferrand campaigning for the mayor's seat, did not attend.

Since then, both events and the president's rhetoric have forced politicians to make up their minds.

Two former prime ministers, Raymond Barre and Michel Rocard, have applauded President Jacques Chirac's attitude on Bosnia. "The firm attitude is in keeping with honour," noted Barre on July 16.

But the consensus was broken on July 24 when former Socialist defence minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement railed against the "dangers of ratings diplomacy and knee-jerk reactions", then went on to warn against becoming "embroiled in war" in a region where France's "vital interests are not involved".

"It cannot be said that Europe, which was involved in the Gulf war, would not be in Bosnia," said Xavier de Villepin, chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Commission. This sentiment is shared by Bernard Stasi, member of the European Parliament. "If we consider that Central Europe's stability is of no direct interest to France, then we have a curious idea of geography," said Stasi.

"The issue at stake is an important one for Europe," insisted Jean-Michel Boucheron, former (Socialist) chairman of the National Assembly's defence commission. "What's involved here is ethnic cleansing. Do we, or do we not, accept this sort of thing?"

Beyond principles, it is the nature of the French commitment that is in dispute here. "It's not a question of going there. We are already there," pointed out a rightwing political leader who did not want to speak out publicly on the subject. "We don't know why we're there. We don't have the means for getting out. We are trapped."

Addressing an extraordinary meeting of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Commission on July 25, two members dared publicly to break the consensus. After Foreign Minister Hervé de Charette had spoken, two Rassemblement Pour la République deputies — Gabriel Kaspereit and Robert Pandraud — urged that French troops be withdrawn from Bosnia.

Openly favourable to the Serbs, Kaspereit questioned the French commitment in "a civil war that doesn't concern us". He recalled the losses suffered by French troops: "Forty-three French casualties, that's enough," he said.

At the end of the commission meeting, RPR deputy Jean-Claude Mignon remarked: "I feel I am facing a historic choice, like the one that faced our leaders in 1938 over Munich. The difference is that today we can't say we don't know."

(July 27)

Waiting game . . . Hutu refugees on the Zairean border with Rwanda PHOTOGRAPH: HOWARD J DAVIES

Goma prepares for the worst

Cross-border incursions and rumours of Hutus rearming have increased tension in Rwanda, says **Jean Hélène**

"PLENTY of rumours and no real proof" was the comment made by the UN High Commission for Refugees' representative in Goma, Joël Boutroue, on the troubling question of whether former Hutu soldiers and militiamen who have taken refuge in Zaire are rearming.

"All the same, one must prepare for the worst," say UN officials. "Those too deeply implicated in last year's genocide know they'll never be able to return home except by force."

The border zone north of Goma would become a front line in the event of armed exiles invading Rwanda. In the absence of more substantial information, humanitarian aid workers in Goma are reduced to putting together "logical" constructs of possible scenarios.

Specialists believe the Hutu exiles have between "40,000 to 50,000 credible fighters", a figure arrived at by adding to the almost intact former Forces Armées Rwandaises (FAR) the thousands of largely fanatical militiamen who volunteered for front-line duty in the battle for Kigali from April to July 1994

"Logically, they should go on the offensive this year," said a UN official. "The best time would be September or October after the crops are harvested in August and before the onset of rain in November. They could feasibly attempt to seize the town of Ruhengeri, set up a provisional government there and negotiate on an equal footing with the Kigali authorities."

Each scenario sets out from the premise that there is absolutely no desire for reconciliation either among the extremist Hutus or on the side of the Tutsi minority's government. For the moment, though, nobody has any reliable information concerning the two essential factors of a possible offensive — the battle-readiness of the troops and the supply of weapons.

Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International reports speak of arms deliveries arriving at Goma airport, the only airstrip within a 400km radius capable of taking planes carrying more than 20 tonnes of freight.

But nobody here confirms the story splashed in foreign newspapers that came from a British opposition official who had been invited to the region by Oxfam. He reported that eight Ilyushin planes had delivered 800 tonnes of weapons to Goma in February and March. "Such a quantity of weapons couldn't have come in unnoticed," say Goma residents.

If it is accepted that the Zairean military and Rwandan refugees work hand in glove, a few cases of arms may well have ended up with the former Rwandan army, as Amnesty International suggests. Since they are apparently convinced that Kigali does not want a large-scale return of refugees, the Zairean authorities could logically be tempted to help the Hutus return home by offering them inducements.

Over and above the scenarios and suppositions there remain the facts — since April there has been a perceptible increase in the number of nightly incursions into Rwanda. They could as easily be cattle rustlers as commando units. It has also been noticed that young Rwandan men disappear for weeks on end, then turn up again at the refugee camps. Since June, Kigali has completely sealed its border with North Kivu, where 730,000 Hutu refugees live, leaving one post open at Goma.

Disinformation also plays a strategic role here. It is said that it would be in Kigali's interest to put out false stories about the Hutu militias rearming so as to persuade the UN to lift the arms embargo which has been in force since May 1994.

(July 26)

Fujimori increases power of the state

Nicole Bonnet in Lima

SECURITY was particularly tight in the Peruvian capital the day before Alberto Fujimori was due to take his presidential oath for a second five-year term. Twenty thousand police were called in. Even though the Shining Path Maoist guerrilla movement was hit hard by Fujimori during his first term, it has not been wiped out.

"Following Fujimori's easy victory in April, the opposition led by Javier Perez de Cuellar, former United Nations secretary general, expected the regime to become more liberal."

But the opposite has happened. The concentration of power in government hands and the army's influence in civil society have become even more pronounced. The majority in parliament has passed a series of bills that modify and even breach the provisions of the constitution adopted in 1993.

For example, political parties that failed to get 5 per cent of the vote in the April 9 elections now have to obtain 500,000 signatures to take part in November's municipal elections (previously only 100,000 signatures were needed).

Another bill gives precedence to military justice over civil courts, thereby opening the way to amnesty for some 100 officers responsible for the death or "disappearance" of 4,000 civilians. General Robles, who was forced to go into exile in Argentina because of his revelations about the Colina death squad, says the new laws "allow the state to get away with terrorism and are a slap in the face for democracy".

San Marco and La Cantuta universities have also been placed under government control. Some 50 similar bills have been passed without debate since April 9.

(July 28)

No quarter for terrorist blackmail

EDITORIAL

TERRORISM has become a recurring threat in France since the first bomb attacks by Carlos more than 20 years ago. The international situation has changed, the Berlin wall is no more, peace is making progress in the Middle East, but there are other causes, other groups and other states ready to use this so-called deterrent of the poor, which is, in fact, a kind of political gangsterism.

Men and women who have absolutely nothing to do with the quarrels in question are taken hostage, killed, injured or maimed for no reason other than to put pressure on a government by sending it a cryptic "message". The pseudo-democratic revolutionary rhetoric of movements resorting to such practices has long been exposed. Their utter contempt for the "masses" they claim to serve is equalled only by the cynicism with which those who make themselves out to be victims of state oppression resort to the most mindless violence to achieve their own goals.

Every government is at first helpless when confronted by terrorism. A democratic state is by definition vulnerable to infiltration by killers taking advantage of the freedom of movement. Those who plan attacks pick the places that are least well guarded, where they can be certain of causing the largest number of casualties. The only defence against them, after they have struck once, is for the public to remain vigilant and stand solidly behind the authorities to whom they have entrusted their collective destiny.

Next comes the task of seeking out and identifying the perpetrators and their sponsors. This is where the skills of police, judges and diplomats have to be combined with political perceptiveness. As always, it is up to political leaders to arbitrate between the country's interests, the principles it has to defend and the security of its citizens. Decisions have been made in the past that have been challenged and were questionable. Politics comes into its own at this point, for no choice can be made in the name of supposedly primary national interests without discussion.

"Democracy's weakness, which its foes try to exploit for their own benefit, is precisely what makes it so valuable — people are free to hold their own opinions and their rulers cannot make decisions without taking them into account. But this weakness becomes its strength when a debate that has opened and is carried to its conclusion enables the state's leaders, beginning with the president, to rally the majority of the people behind him to reject terrorist blackmail.

(July 27)

Fighting a losing battle on the streets

French police feel hounded by the media, let down by the law and despised by the very citizens they are trying to protect. **Nathaniel Herzberg** reports

FOR THE third time that night, police officer Benoit Aviez called his colleagues on the radio: "Cybèle 7, what is your position?" The small white car ahead of him, one of whose two passengers he had noted was armed, was getting ready to drive off. He needed the information badly and his voice rose slightly: "What's your position, Cybèle 7?"

The radio crackled briefly, then Séverine Lucas's high-pitched voice came through: "We're at Avenue de l'Europe and Blériot, exactly level with you. Do we move in?"

In his unmarked car stationed in the Musiciens neighbourhood, Aviez did not hesitate for a moment: "Impossible. Too many people. We're going to wait for them to come out, then grab them. But stay put for now."

At his desk at the Mureaux central police station, Superintendent Marc Caliaros, his eyes fixed on the radio, nodded in approval. Then he shrugged and sighed. "It's no use going in there," he said. "In a few seconds there will be 50 or 100 of them armed with rocks and baseball bats. People will be injured and cars smashed. So, we wait until they come out. If it's necessary to go in, we go. But with three cars. It's all rather distressing, but that's how low relations between them and us have sunk."

In recent months confrontations between youths and police have played a central part in suburban life. Not a day goes by without a group of teenagers clashing with police officers somewhere in France, in one of the so-called sensitive neighbourhoods that now number in the hundreds. Not a week goes by without some minister expounding about these "no-go areas" on the outskirts of big cities, and decrying the "urban guerrilla warfare" and the "impunity" the perpetrators of offences enjoy.

Mayors keep a score of the damage done, educationists despair, and urban policy experts huddle together to try to hammer out solutions. But from Noisy-le-Grand to L'Hay-les-Roses and from Besançon to Saint-Etienne more and more clashes are taking place with the police, and the youths involved are increasingly younger and more determined.

The officers at the Mureaux police station thought they had seen it all. Four years ago, in the wake of the rioting in Sartrouville and Mantes-la-Jolie, the Mureaux district with a population of 33,000, located on the banks of the Seine next to a Renault car plant, had had its share of riots. Shops had been gutted, policemen injured, cars destroyed: the ochre-painted towerblocks of the Musiciens neighbourhood had already hit the headlines.

An uneasy truce followed with relations remaining tense. Small-time crime prospered, teachers in the more difficult schools began reporting sick. However, the friction between youths and police stayed mostly at the verbal level.

The situation seems to have changed radically in the past eight months and confrontations have become routine. On November 11, a dispute between a group of youths and the security guards of a supermarket set off a three-hour running battle with the police in which three officers were injured. Four days later, there was a repeat of the incident. Two companies of riot police called to the scene succeeded in restoring order after two hours of clashes. All through the winter there was a succession of minor incidents.

The situation deteriorated again in May when police officers tried to arrest two men suspected of stealing a car. Beams and breeze blocks were dropped on police vehicles, injuring two officers. In June, the arrest of a violent robbery suspect produced the same result. Three officers were injured. In the same month, police called in to settle a family dispute were met with stones, beer cans and blows. One officer ended up in hospital when a mountain bike was smashed on his back.



No fun at the fair . . . Police increasingly acknowledge that 'the sight of the uniform we wear fills [youths] with hatred' PHOTO: JOHN HARRIS

"And those are only the serious incidents. The others, that's every day," retorted policewoman Maryse Posty, aged 24, with a laugh. A policeman's daughter who had always wanted to follow in his footsteps, Posty has kept her smile during the three years that she has been working at the Mureaux central police station. But her eyes do not reflect the same joy.

"I can't understand it any more," she says. "It's not what we do, but everything we stand for that they appear to reject. Even going in to help a little girl knocked down by a car or restraining a man who's bashing his wife becomes dangerous. The sight of the uniform we wear fills them with hatred. In their eyes, we're disgusting, racist and violent. True, we return their violence with violence. But when you stop a black man riding a bike without a crash helmet, it is not because he's black. The fact is, no dialogue is possible."

Akim Vanbeselaere, whose mother is Algerian and whose father comes from northern France, has been aware of the same thing during the year he has been working at the Mureaux police station. "During my training period at Tourcoing, we still managed to talk with them. So, like most young officers who get their first posting here, I came full of expectations. But you quickly discover it's hopeless. Some of us have been sickened in six months and all we're waiting for is just one thing — to collect enough points to be transferred to a provincial post or a residential area."

The year he has been at the Mureaux station has been enough for Officer Vanbeselaere to acquire such fundamental reflexes as not to pursue a teenage biker not wearing a crash helmet into a housing estate, and not to react to obscene gestures or insults, even when they call him a "traitor" or "police stooge". "You learn to bung up your ears, even run away, if need be."

Running away or backing down was unthinkable for the police just a few years ago, but it is a scenario that has become routine today. The instructions are clear: "Intervene only in totally secure conditions or put off the intervention for a more favourable time when the suspect is at home."

The good policeman that he is, Pascal Courmontagne follows the instructions, but suffers. "If you ask me, I call that backing down. It's like that all the time. You want to scream, to give it to them, but that's impossible. They laugh in our faces and insult us. As much as you love the job, it is at times like this that you ask yourself what the hell you are doing here. There's also the hatred. You really tell yourself that the only solution is a hard crack-down, with the courts taking it from there."

MUCH more than the media, "which they say are routinely against us", it is the legal system that they most blame. These officers recount the instances of offenders caught red-handed who are immediately released because of overloaded trial rosters.

They speak of 15-year-olds who repeatedly commit offences and are never troubled by the law. "They know that under the age of 16, short of committing murder, nothing can happen to them," noted Commissaire Caliaros with regret. "Today the 13- to 16-year-olds commit more offences than the 16- to 18-year-olds."

And the age is still dropping. Last autumn, the railway police arrested a gang from the Mureaux district which went by the the name of La Primera. It was involved in robbing passengers on suburban trains. The gang-leader was 14 years old and in his first year at a secondary school.

"You stick it out, because the atmosphere is great here," said Akim Vanbeselaere. "Also because, despite all that, we do resolve some fine cases," added Pascal Courmontagne. And Séverine Lucas added: "Because it's the finest profession in the world and I wouldn't want any other."

(July 21)

Report highlights urban blackspots

THE ROLL-CALL of urban violence is dizzying, *writes Erich Inciyan*. A young man crashes to his death on a stolen motorcycle while fleeing the police and a riot erupts. A teenager is killed by a supermarket security guard, and neighbourhood youths go on a rampage, ambushing the police and pelting them with stones and petrol bombs. In another suburb, boys aged between 12 and 14 engage in pitched battles with the police.

Are suburban communities in open rebellion against institutions? Are such outbursts a sign of the usual summer fever, an effect of the recent local government elections or are these communities in some way reacting to the current wave of films about suburban unrest?

A recent police survey of 1,014 urban districts, chosen on the basis of their residents' socio-economic difficulties and the problems encountered by people working there, brings out three trends — group violence is becoming trivialised, delinquents are getting younger and weapons are used more readily.

Not all neighbourhoods are plagued by insecurity. One third of those studied were "completely free of daily violence", notes the police report. In these places, "social despair is not expressed through violence, but takes more stealthy forms such as desperation, self-destruction and illegal trafficking".

The report notes that violence fluctuates seasonally, with highs in spring and autumn and lows in the dead of winter and at the height of the summer. The year 1995 will stand out because the violence came late in spring and was particularly severe. There were 600 incidents in June this year compared with 374 in June 1994.

The police report picks out 197 urban areas where it says security has deteriorated badly. Here "those who represent institutional authority — police officers, teachers, elective officials, firemen, judges and soldiers — are neither feared nor respected by a small hard core that attacks head-on those who embody republican law".

TROUBLEMAKERS disrupting classrooms and causing problems in community centres and on public transport are becoming younger. "The most trifling incidents spark wildly disproportionate and completely unpredictable reactions both against other youths and representatives of institutional authority," notes the report.

In Strasbourg, 425 vehicles were set ablaze in 1994 (not counting the scores of other vehicles destroyed as the fires spread), 190 in the neighbourhood of Neuhof. "The spectacle of burnt-out cars on the road increases the feeling of insecurity in sensitive areas," comments the report.

The police note that firearms (pistols and sawn-off hunting rifles) are replacing knives in some difficult areas. On the whole, firearms tend to be used only in clashes between gangs and are often related to drug trafficking. The most common weapons in fights between gangs of suburban youths are .22 calibre rifles and pump-action guns.

Commissaire (superintendent) Lucienne Bui-Trong of the police security service has established a scale of urban insecurity that goes from 1 to 6. It ranges from attacks on persons and property to premeditated violence directed at police officers with "rocks, petanque balls, petrol bombs, vehicles [aggressively tailgating patrol cars and bumping into them] and gunfire".

The worst affected areas in France are 226 neighbourhoods in the Ile-de-France (around Paris), followed by the Alpes-Côte d'Azur (... neighbourhoods) and the Nord-Pas-de-Calais (61).

However, the police note that some areas have remained calm for long periods. Without giving any indications as to the policies to follow, they say this calm is often brought about by carefully targeted judicial measures, or is the result of a few troublesome families moving out of a neighbourhood, thereby making it possible to neutralise the two or three gang-leaders who are sufficient to wreck the atmosphere of an entire neighbourhood.

But the police say that this lull should make the authorities think about the new turn suburban delinquency is taking. The practice of taunting members of the establishment is giving way to more profitable rackets (stolen goods, drugs, forged ID cards and other documents) and increasing aggressiveness towards intruders in gang neighbourhoods.

(July 21)

The loneliness of a long-distance runner . . . González's Socialist government has been rocked by scandal

González takes the long view

Michel Bole-Richard reports from Madrid on the difficulties facing Spain's prime minister

"I HAVE a completely clear conscience, that's my great strength. I always work in accordance with the criteria I feel should guide my work. I fully assume my responsibilities, and that enables me to bear, with a certain equanimity, the avalanche of base attacks and slander that are published every day about me."

It was in those terms, in a television interview on July 18, that Spanish prime minister Felipe González explained how he was facing up to the wear and tear of being in power, despite a flurry of scandals and a patent loss of political credibility.

After almost 13 years at the helm of the Socialist regime and over 20 years on the executive of the Spanish Socialist party, González describes himself, at the age of 53, as not yet "weary". Thirty-three years after joining the Socialist Youth movement in Seville, González says he does not want to retire from political life and is prepared to continue his fight "as opposition leader".

González refuses to declare whether he will lead the Socialists into battle for the fifth time at the next general election, which will probably take place next spring, because he regards it as premature. But there are insistent rumours that he has decided to step down as leader.

During his interview, a reference to a probable fifth successive win by Miguel Indurain in the Tour de France cycle race brought a smile to González's lips. He pointed out that, while he has won four successive elections, he suffered two defeats at the polls before coming to power in October 1982, and that the next general election would be his seventh campaign.

In his view, his honesty is a further asset. He is not interested in money, and hopes he never will be. He is proud of owning only one house, on which he is still paying a monthly mortgage, and claims never to have allowed his family to benefit from the advantages of his office.

But how was it that he never realised what was going on around him? González says he always acted in good faith and continually repeats that he learnt of the misdemeanours of this or that public figure only when he read about them in the newspapers.

But, he was asked, had he not repeatedly expressed confidence in the governor of Spain's central bank, Mariano Rubio, who was later arrested for fraud? Had he not thought of appointing Luis Roldan, a former head of the Guardia Civil, now in prison facing six charges, to the post of interior minister? Had he not demonstrated his complete trust in the head of the secret service, Emilio Alonso Manglano, when the telephone tapping scandal broke?

It could be that González lives too isolated an existence in the Moncloa Palace. In an interview with El Pais in October 1992, on the occasion of his first 10 years in power, González admitted he "felt a vacuum" around him.

"I sometimes feel like saying what I think, what I feel and what I do and why I do it," he confessed. "I want to say it with my guts and not in some official communiqué. Who can I confide in? No one. There are fewer and fewer people around me — perhaps it's because I don't organise my work properly."

THAT ISOLATION has cost him dear in the past three years. González now accepts that he was wrong and that his trust was abused, but says that he has been running a tighter ship since then and amply paid the price for his past political mistakes: since 1991 González has been forced to part company with two deputy prime ministers, four ministers, and two ex-ministers.

He has indeed paid a stiff price, but remains unwilling to offer his own head on a platter. He is not someone to give up without a struggle, even if he has found it increasingly hard to prevent the past catching up with him.

A perfect example of this is the scandal of the Anti-Terrorist Liberation Groups (GAL). It is also the most serious of the problems facing González, because it would appear that the government covered up for, and possibly even organised, the activities of these death squads, whose job was "to teach the French a lesson", in the alleged words of José Barrionuevo, the interior minister of the time.

GAL killers were responsible for the deaths of 24 people in the French Basque country, including nine who had no connections with the separatist Basque organisation, ETA. The aim was to combat ETA terrorists who found refuge in France.

It was a "dirty war", for which 13 people, including senior police officials, are now facing charges. Last week, one after the other, those very same policemen decided to spill the beans to investigating magistrate Baltasar Garzon. They not only implicated Barrionuevo but pointed the finger of suspicion at González himself, alleging that "he could not have been unaware of what was going on".

González answered their accusations by once again arguing that "it will never be possible to prove government involvement, since the government was never involved". He therefore remained confident that his responsibility would never be established as he had nothing to do with criminal activities he found morally reprehensible.

He is convinced that his opponents are out to get him by hook or by crook and that other scandals will break between now and the elections in an attempt to bring down the Socialist government. Contrary to his claims at the time of the wire-tapping scandal, no proof has, as yet, emerged of any such plot.

In Socialist circles, it is an open secret that the bugging scandal could have been an act of revenge on the part of Mario Conde, former president of Banesto, a bank which the government had placed under administrative supervision.

Other elements of the equation include the fierce anti-González stance of the daily El Mundo and the trail of banana skins left by all those whose schemes were foiled by the big government clean-up.

But González refuses to let people say he is clinging on to power and remains convinced that "his policy is right for Spain".

He argues that the democratic alternative should be allowed to complete its term in office and thereby bring to a fitting close the long march of Spain's newly-fledged democracy under his stewardship.

(July 26)

Haiti's leader keeps the door wide open

President Aristide talks to **Jean-Michel Caroit** about his hopes for Haiti

THE FIRST round of the Haitian elections took place on June 25 in an atmosphere of confusion. Most parties have challenged its results and are refusing to take part in the second round and the by elections due to be held on August 6. How does this affect the democratic process?

I regret and condemn the irregularities. We could have done better. When people want to vote and can't find their polling station, it's a serious matter. Improvements will have to be made. But the election did mark a step in the right direction, as the people were able to express their will in a climate of peace.

Dialogue must result in the participation of several political parties in the August 6 poll. We have no other choice. A single party and the lack of an opposition would spell death for our democracy. That's why I'm continuing to have talks with political leaders.

Several of them have called for the formation of a new electoral council and the resignation of the president of the present council, Anselme Rémy.

Constitutionally, the head of state cannot dismiss the president of the electoral council. But I can't pretend not to notice or remain indifferent to what is going on. The important thing is to continue the dialogue and reach a compromise.

Nine months after your return to Haiti, what is the state of play as regards such important areas as security, the legal system, the police and the economy?

Before I returned, many people talked of a shattered social fabric, of possible scenes of looting and lynching. Haiti was described as hell. Since then, it hasn't turned into paradise, but nor is it hell. The disbanding of the army was an historic step in the right direction.

Have differences of opinion with the US over the formation of a new police force been overcome?

Broadly speaking, yes. Haitian policemen have been trained in Canada, Japan and Chile. Honduras has offered to help. That being the case, there was no point in opposing the departure of a group of policemen to the United States. We laid down two conditions: first, recruitment should be carried out by the Haitian government, and secondly, a Haitian delegation should visit the United States so we could monitor their training and keep the nation informed about it.

And the legal system?

The reform of the legal system is taking place too slowly. We have to remain patient and at the same time speed up the process, never forgetting that justice and reconciliation go hand in hand. We must take into account 200 years of corruption and opposition to change. We are grateful to the international community for helping us to open a magistrates' training college. But you can't produce judges and lawyers in the same way you can pairs of shoes.

What about the economy? There is no tangible sign of recovery, and prices are still running high.

There's a Haitian country and a Haitian people, but no Haitian nation yet. Together we've got to build it at the same time as we build a state governed by the rule of law.

Reconciliation must take place at an economic level too. It entails the participation of the élite in the modernisation of the economy. The individual has to be reconciled with the law: let every man pay his taxes so the state can invest in human development, health and education.

With the help of the international community we've been able to settle the arrears on our debts and cope with our balance of payments. But those dying of starvation have not yet benefited from the promises that have been made. I associate myself with the cry of the starving.

After nine months we should have been able to work out a strategy that enabled the starving to reap some kind of benefits.

The far-left accuses you of championing neo-liberalism and privatisation.

In the old days, words like "communist" and "capitalist" were pejorative terms. Nowadays, words like "privatisation" and "liberalisation" are used instead. What's at stake is not an ideology. It's a question of enabling certain state enterprises to operate with the help of private capital under negotiated conditions that are in our best interests.



Many of your supporters want you to remain in power for three more years — the period you spent in exile.

The head of state will step down on February 7, 1996. What I'm interested in is preparing my departure, the arrival of the new parliament and the presidential election.

That election is less than five months away. Which candidate are you going to support?

It's the people who will tell the president what to do, and not the reverse.

What are your plans after the February election?

After those three years spent in exile, I would like to stay in Haiti and devote myself to reading and writing. I'll be attentive to the plight of our street children and will try to be useful to my people.

Do you plan to stand again for the presidency in 2000?

I'm leaving the door — and the windows — wide open.

(July 26)

Choreographed murder, madness and mayhem

CINEMA
Pascal Mérigeau

AS IN a classical hard-hitting action film, the night-time shoot-outs in Bryan Singer's **The Usual Suspects** are bloody, while the characters' behaviour is unambiguous, the dialogue biting and the pace infernal.

But although, like other recent American thrillers, his film goes all out for an untrammelled representation of violence, it really belongs to a tradition of film noir whose fundamental and very necessary ambiguities have been rather swamped of late by a tidal wave of systematic gore.

Just as "fantastic" films with literary antecedents have now been virtually superseded by straightforward horror movies, so the recent film noir has tended to highlight action scenes and their choreographical qualities, at the expense of the social, thematic and formal considerations that are inseparable from the genre.

The extraordinary brio with which the many violent scenes in The Usual Suspects are filmed and the very deliberate formalism of the *mise-en-scène* are enhanced by the density and complexity of a plot that is handled with a dexterity one had imagined to be well-nigh extinct.

The reason why Singer's use of chiaroscuro and colour is so attractive is that his characterisation and the accumulation of sudden twists in the plot are informed by a single desire: a desire to outwit the spectator, who is left to grapple with a series of red herrings and false trails.

The whole film rattles along at such a spanking pace that it is difficult to summarise the plot: five small-time gangsters who do not know each other happen to be rounded up and taken to the same police station.

They meet again later to carry out a hold-up and rob a jewellers', before eventually realising they have been manipulated. The question is: by whom and why? At the end of it all, there are 27 corpses (all in the final scene) and $91 million has vanished into thin air.

The reasons why the group got together are never more obscure than when they seem to be most obvious. True, the characters do not know what is going on any better than the spectator, who is entirely at the mercy of a magician-like director and a manipulative scriptwriter (Christopher McQuarrie) as they unleash their balletic whirlwind of blood, dollars, revenge and death.

Each new clue or piece of information that seems to throw light on the story line is quickly followed by another, which challenges the importance and relevance of its predecessor without, however, completely invalidating it.

Nothing is actually false, but the screenplay yields up its secrets only in dribs and drabs; and it is only in the last scene of the film that we find out who is pulling all the strings.

The quietly casual way in which this final revelation is effected acts as a perfect foil to the intense jubilation which the director invites us to share with him.

The very outrageousness of the scene in which the mysterious, diabolical and terrifying Keyser Söse prefers to execute the members of his own family rather than execute the orders of his enemies is evidence of the film's open game-playing and referential dimension (Fu Manchu is not a thousand miles away).

Singer maintains that balance throughout the movie. The resulting realism-at-one-remove is reinforced by the performance of the little-known actors who play in The Usual Suspects.

They clearly have great fun portraying a group of hard-boiled and sometimes soft-hearted characters who are caught up willy-nilly in a maelstrom which they claim — but not for long — to have organised. The result, orchestrated with dazzling virtuosity by Singer, is a great film noir.

Similar skills in the department of mise-en-scène and the direction of actors are much in evidence in a double bill of two medium-length films by an up-and-coming French director, Jacques Maillot.

In **75 Centilitres de Prière**, a 30-minute movie made in 1993 but released only now, he injects life into a group of characters simply by flitting from one to the other in the course of a party where people write down their wishes on scraps of paper and put them into a wine bottle. The party turns sour and ends abruptly. Then an epilogue tells us, in a sentence or two, what subsequently happens to each character, and explains the *raison-d'être* of the film in a few shots.

Maillot's delight in using his characters' own words to catch them out and his skilful capture of fleeting glances or gestures are here combined with a sure-footed sense of dramatic construction. That construction is helped by an intelligent use of voice-over and a remarkably well-balanced relationship between scenes and shots that scrupulously respects their duration and function.

IN HIS 40-minute **Corps Inflammables**, Maillot shows the same pulsating interest in people and the same determination to reconstruct passing moments in the lives of characters who are desperately seeking each other in the hope, no doubt, of finding themselves.

In its choice and activation of situations between the characters, Corps Inflammables is on territory already familiar to us from the films of other young French directors (Maillot was born in 1962).

Here, as so often, a man is secretly in love with a woman, who is sleeping with another man, who is in love with the first man, who fails to notice that another woman is in love with him.

The plot may sound ridiculous. Yet it is not. Humiliation, silence, the inability of words to express what they are meant to express, the difficulty of loving and the prevarication of desire are central to each scene; but the argument of the film is too slender to ensure the link between its various sequences and to convince one that this, rather than another, story really needs to be told at all.

The film is redeemed by the charm of the actors, the homogeneity of the group they form in front of the camera, and the unfailing sensitivity of a director who will surely move on to greater things once he has found new inspiration and starts to work in the feature-length league.

(July 20)



Witnesses to life

Italian theatre director Giorgio Strehler talks to **Olivier Schmitt** about the work of Bertolt Brecht and Samuel Beckett

GIORGIO STREHLER, Italy's leading postwar theatre director, was born in Barcola, near Trieste, in 1921. In 1947 he founded the Piccolo Teatro in Milan, which soon made a name for itself as one of the most creative theatres in the world.

The two prongs of his theatrical activity have been a fresh approach to the staging of works in the existing repertoire (particularly noted are his reinterpretations of plays by the 18th century dramatist, Carlo Goldoni), and the production of new plays by living authors. During his career, Strehler has put on more than 200 plays, staged 50 operas and organised countless readings of texts both ancient and modern.

Strehler worked for a while under Bertolt Brecht in the early fifties. He describes Brecht's attitude towards the women he worked with, in the light of John Fuegi's controversial recent book, Brecht And Company (Le Monde section, July 9), and recalls Brecht's admiration for the work of Samuel Beckett.

"I've decided to dedicate the coming season at the Piccolo Teatro to Brecht. We've at last emerged from the 'cold war' surrounding his work, even though the aesthetic battle is not yet over. Up to now, people on the right have felt obliged to badmouth Brecht, and those on the left to praise him. Today, we can talk dispassionately not only about Brecht, but about Beckett and Pinter, without trying to compare them unfavourably with each other.

"They are great playwrights, towering figures of contemporary theatre. Strong pro- or anti-Brecht feelings are a thing of the past. We can now try to discuss his work, to put on widely differing types of production to test audience reaction to a writer who played an important role in the history of both the theatre and the world.

"As regards Fuegi's book, my position is very straightforward: No one has the right to write that kind of thing. One can discuss Brecht from a literary, poetic or political point of view. But there's no point in discussing pure calumny.

"Yes, he had plenty of women and was unfaithful to the whole lot of them . . . That was something we talked about a lot when I studied under him in 1952 and 1953. I belonged to a dogmatic and rather silly generation. We were shocked by Brecht's attitude towards women because it didn't square with the purity of communism and socialism. We were bullshitters.

"Brecht had love affairs and he had flings. Margarete Steffin, for example, was his great love. She died in Russia — in Vladivostok — and not because Brecht had abandoned her in a hospital. He wrote poems about Steffin. Their letters show a very great affection. One poem goes: 'Steffin is dead, my master is dead, my guide is dead'. It's heartrending stuff.

"Elisabeth Hauptmann, Ruth Berlau and others were his collaborators, not just bits of fluff. In the course of working with him, they blossomed and became intellectuals. No one can deny that Brecht gave those women everything. When you make love, you give yourself and you take.

"At a time when no one was talking about women's liberation, he had this electrifying vision of female intelligence and of the need to give women their chance.

"It's an incredible thing to claim that those women wrote Brecht's plays. I've just received the complete edition of his works from Frankfurt. It runs to 35 volumes — yes, 35! — of utter stylistic unity and poetic richness. If there's one thing no one can challenge, it's the singularity of the way Brecht handled language. He was a stylist, the best modern stylist working in the German language.

"I don't rule out the possibility that he may have asked one of his women to write material for this or that scene and decided to use four or five lines of her dialogue — that's the very essence of the collaborative process.

"But although I studied under Brecht I'm not a blind admirer of his work. I belong to a school that existed before him, that of Jacques Copeau. Brecht was a man of great aesthetic rigour, but he wasn't a dogmatist.

"Copeau, on the other hand, was something of a dogmatist — because he was a Catholic. But he lent a kind of lustre to the theatre, which was magnificently kept alive by Jouvet, my third master. I came to Brecht after gaining experience that enabled me to keep a clear mind.

"Next season, I and others will give a reading of Brecht's protocol for Beckett's Waiting For Godot. He had begun to work on an adaptation of the play, making a few stylistic changes in the process of translation.

"Brecht had a very high opinion of Beckett . . . I didn't realise that he had written about Beckett and knew his plays well. One evening he said to me: 'There's something I'd really like to find out, you know. I'd like to ask Beckett what Vladimir and Estragon were doing during the second world war.'

"Five years later, I met Beckett in Paris. In the course of talking to him I realised that he too was very familiar with Brecht's works. I said to him: 'Before his death, Brecht told me he wanted to ask you a question. He wanted to know what Vladimir and Estragon were doing during the second world war.' 'They were in the Resistance,' Beckett replied.

"So that settled everything. Beckett was in the Resistance too — Beckett, the man of nothingness, of total pessimism. When the time came to commit himself, he was not on the 'other' side.

"'Have you ever noticed,' Brecht once said to me, 'how in the works of this pessimist, in a world of emptiness, no one ever kills himself.' If you take a close look at Beckett's *oeuvre*, you'll indeed find there are no pistol shots. No one commits suicide. All the characters say that life is awful, that it's full of runts without legs or arms or anything. But they are there, Beckett is there. They bear witness to life.

"In that sense Brecht was deeply moved by Beckett's works. He even said to me: 'A poet is always an optimist, even if he describes the end of the world, even if he claims we can't live together. The mere fact of saying that means he has confidence in himself and confidence in the world'."

(July 9/10)

Le Monde
Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani

The Washington Post

West Wakes Up to UN's Plight

Rick Atkinson in Berlin

DESPITE a grim week of grim news about Bosnia — the fall of another U.N. "safe area," the outbreak of fighting on a perilous new front, more hand-wringing in Europe and the United States — a cautious optimism has taken hold among Western officials that the forced evacuation of U.N. peacekeepers may not be so imminent after all.

At face value, the sighting of a silver lining is hard to justify given the size of the dark cloud that overshadows Bosnia, but officials in Brussels, Washington and other capitals believe it is precisely the proximity of catastrophe that has finally forced NATO and the United Nations to rally effectively around the beleaguered peacekeepers.

There is a growing sense at NATO headquarters that the U.N. mission can probably muddle through a while longer by creating reinforced firebases that are relative safe havens — at least for the peacekeepers — even if the surrounding country is in flames. Certainly the West's efforts to keep the U.N. Bosnia mission on life support are still beset with at least as many questions as answers. For example:

❑ Has the preoccupation with preventing the fall of Gorazde, the last U.N. sanctuary in eastern Bosnia, distracted attention from the threat of a wider, cross-border war around the Bihac enclave in the northwest?

❑ Does the U.N. pledge to deter attacks on Bihac and the other three remaining sanctuaries have any credibility?

❑ Will the recent much-ballyhooed modification of the "dual key" chain of command, under which U.N. civilians could block NATO military action, encourage more robust counterpunching against Serb aggression — even if hostages are seized again?

❑ Have Britain and France bypassed U.N. officials by taking matters into their own hands around Sarajevo?

The proximate cause of the latest crisis was the fall, last month, of Srebrenica. The forced expulsion of more than 20,000 Muslim civilians, reports of widespread Serb atrocities and subsequent Serb capture of the nearby Zepa enclave unmasked the U.N. guarantee of sanctuary as a sham. At an emergency meeting in London on July 21, ministers from NATO member nations warned the Serbs that an attack on Gorazde could lead to NATO airstrikes far more extensive than in the past. This initiative was a U.S. counterproposal to a demand from Paris that up to 1,000 French combat reinforcements be ferried to Gorazde in American helicopters.

The past week has been spent embellishing the London plan. In a marathon session in Brussels, NATO ambassadors hashed out the military details for safeguarding Gorazde and its small U.N. garrison. Among the points of concurrence, according to NATO sources, are that any attack or threat of imminent attack would be met with airstrikes against a broad array of Serb air defense, command and control, artillery and armor targets around the town. Several ambassadors' worries that Serb barracks would be bombed were resolved with an agreement that troop concentrations only would be targeted if clearly massing for attack, a NATO official said.

Also agreed: Persistent Serb attacks would be met with a much wider sequence of air attacks across Bosnia and Croatia, but that such a strategic campaign is a "significant firebreak" that would require further approval by NATO ambassadors and the United Nations in New York; that the taking of hostages should not be permitted to throttle NATO combat operations, but that alliance members whose soldiers have been seized could convene a NATO meeting to discuss the issue; and that the authority for launching attacks around Gorazde will be pushed down the chain of command from Admiral Leighton W. Smith Jr., commander of NATO forces in Southern Europe, to U.S. Air Force Lt. Gen. Michael E. Ryan, his air commander.

In the wake of these developments, U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, under pressure from Washington and other capitals, ceded the United Nations' authority for launching attacks to French Gen. Bernard Janvier, military commander of U.N. forces in the former Yugoslavia.

Some NATO officials had hoped that the authority would be delegated further down the chain, to British Lt. Gen. Rupert Smith in Sarajevo, but many expect that Janvier will prove more willing to use force under prodding from French President Jacques Chirac, who has emerged as the Western leader most aggressive on Bosnia.

MacNelly Chicago Tribune

RUN FOR IT!
WE'VE BEEN DECLARED A U.N. SAFE AREA!

Arms Ban Voted Down

IN A bipartisan repudiation of President Clinton's policy on Bosnia, the Senate last week overwhelmingly approved legislation to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia's Muslim-led government. The vote was 69 to 29, two votes more than the two-thirds needed to override a promised White House veto, *writes Helen Dewar*.

Brushing aside administration warnings that lifting the embargo could end the United Nations peacekeeping mission in Bosnia and draw the United States deeper into the Balkans conflict, the Senate was swayed by arguments that the U.N. efforts already have failed and that the embargo was hindering the Muslims in their battle against Serb aggression.

The Senate vote drew immediate condemnations from France and Russia, while the Bosnian government welcomed the action.

Senate Unites on Changes to Gifts Rules

Helen Dewar

THE SENATE agreed unanimously last week to impose strict new limits on free meals, expense-paid trips and other gifts to its members and staff.

Responding to public anger over reports of their lavish entertainment by special interests, senators agreed to limit individual gifts to $50 and put a $100 annual ceiling on multiple gifts of more than $10 each from a single source.

They also banned free vacation trips that are conducted both to raise money for charity and to bring lawmakers into contact with lobbyists and corporate officials in plush and cozy settings.

In addition, lobbyists would be banned from giving to senators' legal defense funds, retreats or designated charities.

In voting 98 to 0 to enact the new rules, the Senate "took a giant step" in addressing the "lack of credibility out there . . . that undermines confidence in Congress," said Sen. John McCain (Rep-Arizona), who helped broker the final deal.

"Maybe it's not a home run, but I think the Senate hit a triple here today and that's progress," said Sen. Carl M. Levin (Dem-Michigan), who with Sen. William S. Cohen (Rep-Maine), had cosponsored stronger restrictions. Although he supported amendments to weaken the measure, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole (Rep-Kansas), said it was "a good bill . . . one we can be proud of." It was "one issue we wanted to get behind us," he added. "It's always more difficult when it affects us."

The new rules, which will take effect in January, apply only to the Senate. House GOP leaders have indicated they probably will not take action on gift rules this year but may next year.

The rules represent a significant tightening of existing gift restrictions, under which House and Senate members may accept unlimited gifts of $100 or less, with no limits on meals.

They may accept no more than $250 a year from one source, but only gifts of more than $100 are counted toward that total.

Similar legislation died last year in a filibuster by Senate Republicans eager to keep Democrats from scoring a "reform" victory just before the November midterm elections. Ironically, the freshmen Republicans chosen in those elections ended up closer to Democratic leaders than their party leaders in this year's Senate fight.

It was the Senate's second action on political reforms in less than a week, demonstrating the potency of constituents' impatience with special interest influence in Washington. On Tuesday last week, the Senate approved legislation to tighten registration and disclosure rules for lobbyists.

Senators from both parties who helped put together the lobbying and gift deals also are trying to work out a bipartisan agreement on overhauling campaign finance rules, although they acknowledge it probably will be difficult.

Justice Must Be Seen To Be Done

EDITORIAL

AT A certain point, the rising public savagery of the Serbs was bound to cross the evident distaste of many Americans for heightened involvement in Bosnia. That point came with the Serbs' defiant capture of a second United Nations-designated "safe area," Zepa, and the onset of a fresh round of hideous "ethnic cleansings".

This was what led the Senate not simply to repudiate the Clinton administration's half-measures but to take Bosnia policy into its own hands.

Whether the Senate decision is politically wise will hinge on whether Mr. Dole and Mr. Clinton can henceforth avoid a draining confrontation and put their best thoughts together. But that the decision was morally vital is beyond cavil.

In fact, the Senate vote, which is expected to be reinforced in the House, is less a blueprint than a road sign saying: Do not abide further atrocities, do something more forceful. The Senate orders the administration to lift the arms embargo pressing unequally, because Bosnian Serbs have their own supplies, on an otherwise largely unaided Muslim-led Bosnian government. But the conditions of consultation attached to the lifting, and the requirement for prudence in dealing with the Serbs, leave the specific effects uncertain.

The administration is toughening its commitment to NATO airstrikes in case of a Serb assault on Gorazde, another "safe area." That makes one wonder whether the Serbs will take this commitment as a bluff to be called or an invitation for cost-free probing elsewhere. The European allies with troops on the ground — the United States has none — remain anxious at the prospect of American unilateral action. The United Nations has yielded its political veto on NATO military action, but its local military commander, on whom approval of military action still rests, is a French general.

On the eve of the Senate vote, the War Crimes Tribunal established by the United Nations indicted the Bosnian Serb leadership for genocide and crimes against humanity. This puts U.N. members in the position of seeking to try and punish, and meanwhile to render pariahs, the very people it needs to draw into a political settlement.

The awkwardness cannot be allowed to derail either process. With the growing possibility of American engagement by airstrikes, arms supply or ground units to help U.N. peacekeepers depart, a settlement becomes even more necessary. The whole point of outside involvement is to help the Muslims get a better deal. Justice, however, cannot be considered negotiable.

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Red Tape 'Impeding' Women's Conference

Steven Mufson in Beijing

ORGANIZATIONS planning to attend a U.N. conference on women and a parallel gathering for private women's groups here say they are being hampered by bureaucratic obstacles and the Beijing government's tardy preparation for the events.

The Fourth U.N. World Conference on Women and the collateral Non-Governmental Forum on Women are scheduled for late August through mid-September, but Beijing officials are still constructing a rudimentary site for the forum, wading through 34,000 visa applications and laying out ground rules that include restrictions on video equipment and printed materials that participants can bring into the country.

With time running out, many groups fear China's Communist leadership is using bureaucratic stalling tactics to limit attendance at the forum, particularly by women critical of China's human rights record or otherwise viewed as "hostile" to the Beijing government.

That would belie a commitment to unrestricted forum attendance the government was said to have made when U.N. officials acquiesced in its decision to move the meeting from central Beijing — near the site of the U.N. conference — to Huairou, a sleepy former garrison town about 35 miles and an hour's drive from the capital. Last week, the Chinese committee organizing the events acknowledged at a news conference that the Huairou site will accommodate less than a third of the people who have applied to attend the forum.

The committee also said it had only just begun to mail out hotel confirmation letters to forum delegates — letters the government requires before it will approve visa applications. Even with the best of intentions, it would be a massive bureaucratic task for China to get tens of thousands of letters out in time for applicants to obtain visas. "We're going through them one by one," a committee spokesman said.

Initially, the only requirement for those wishing to take part in the non-governmental meeting was to register with forum organizers in New York; now, diplomats here say they have been swamped by procedural complaints and visa queries from would-be delegates. "Right now, I am in bureaucratic hell trying to figure out if I will have a visa," a Chicago woman who hopes to attend the meeting said in a computer message.

In mid-July, a U.N. agency in Geneva rejected accreditation to the official U.N. conference for 11 groups whose attendance was opposed primarily by China and Iran. These and other groups are now waiting to see if they are granted visas to attend the forum in accordance with China's U.N. pledge.

All this may make it awkward for first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to attend the U.N. conference, a decision her office says she is still contemplating. If she does not attend, the U.S. government delegation will be led by U.N. Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright.

"It's been clear all along that there's been an effort to deny some groups participation" in the official U.N. conference, said Susana Fried of the Center for Women's Global Leadership, an organization based at Rutgers University in New Jersey. However, with confirmation letters still in the mail, Fried said the jury is still out on visas for delegates to the women's forum. "It's extremely difficult to know if it's the slowness of the bureaucracy or if there's a more deliberate strategy to reduce participation."

The visa controversy is only the latest to plague the events. In March 1992, the United Nations agreed to hold its official conclave in Beijing, and China agreed at the same time to accommodate an estimated 20,000 delegates to an ancillary, unofficial gathering at a downtown stadium.

But apparently fearing that it would be unable to control demonstrations by crowds of foreign women in the capital, the government abruptly declared earlier this year that the stadium had structural defects and announced that the forum would be moved to suburban Huairou.

THE DECISION was believed to have been spurred in part by memories of a 1989 visit here by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who arrived with a large number of journalists in the midst of the epic student-led democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square.

After shifting the site of the forum, China launched a frantic effort to prepare meeting facilities and accommodations at Huairou for the 36,000 people who had registered to attend. At their news conference, members of the Chinese organizing committee said preparations there were going smoothly, but their descriptions dismayed foreign women's groups.

The committee said the site comprises 75 small rooms and 80 tents for seminars; a large hall in a converted movie theater that holds 1,500 people; a pavilion without walls that can hold 2,000; and seven shopping centers. At most, these facilities can accommodate about 10,000 people at any one time, said Wan Siquan, deputy secretary general of the committee. The rest of the participants, he said, would have an opportunity to do some sightseeing on government-run tours or view "cultural shows."

Forum participants will be linked to the U.N. conference in Beijing by phone, closed-circuit television and electronic mail, the committee said. There will be hotel space for 10,000 people in Huairou; the rest will be bused there daily from Beijing.

When the conclave was conceived, women's groups had lobbied for a meeting site close to the official U.N. assemblage in hopes of influencing the official conference's final declaration. They also had sought a venue that included a meeting hall large enough to accommodate at least 10,000 delegates; both requirements were satisfied by the Beijing stadium, they said.

Meanwhile, forum organizers in New York have declared themselves satisfied with the Huairou arrangements so far. Irene Santiago, executive director of the sponsoring group, said Huairou "has been transformed into a site that the . . . forum can really use." She added that the Chinese have promised to provide forum participants with buses every 20 minutes from hotels in Beijing to Huairou and back, but European diplomats here have calculated that it would take hours or even days to transport 20,000 people by shuttle buses along the two-lane road.

Assessing The Risks of Childbirth

Li Xiguang

A SURVEY finds that about 1.3 million women around the world die each year in childbearing or from problems related to reproductive health, most of them in countries where abortions are banned or whose governments have restrictive policies toward family planning.

In most of the 46 countries with the highest maternal mortality rates — such as Ghana, Zaire, Mali and the Congo where there the rate is around 1 per 100 births — women have extremely limited options with respect to childbearing, according to a study of reproductive health practices in 118 countries released last week by Population Action International (PAI), a Washington-based research and advocacy group. In such countries, "fewer than 5 percent (of women) use family planning and abortion is illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life," the report said.

"In many countries, abortion remains legally restricted, leading women to resort to unsafe abortion, a major cause of maternal deaths, injuries and illness worldwide," the study said. "An estimated 20 million unsafe abortions take place each year, accounting for between 50,000 and 100,000 deaths annually."

The PAI survey ranked the 118 countries — containing about 94 percent of the world's population — according to a "reproductive risk index" based on 10 categories, including number of births to teenagers, percentage of women receiving prenatal care, prevalence of contraception, availability of professional care at birth, national abortion policy, maternal anemia and HIV infection rates, average number of births per woman and related standards.

By those criteria, Italy ranked first and the United States 19th among 23 countries deemed to present "very low risk." This group included Canada, most of Western Europe, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Australia. China, often criticized in the United States for its abortion policy, ranked 26th — above Israel, Costa Rica and Chile — in the group of 20 countries cited as "low risk." One reason for China's ranking is its very low teen-age birth rate: about 2 per 100 girls, compared with 6 per 100 in the United States, which has about the same rate as India.

In most industrialized countries, virtually all pregnant women receive prenatal care and give birth in health facilities attended by skilled medical personnel. In prevalence of prenatal care, however, the United States (at 95 percent) ranked lower than most wealthy countries and below China, Cuba and Mongolia.

The study also found that 6 in every 100 women in the United States are unable to bear children, compared with an average of about 5 percent worldwide.

The study ranked China as the best developing country in reducing maternal death rates, with 95 deaths for every 100,000 births. "In many other countries, however, maternal mortality remains unacceptably high and, moreover, is often underestimated," the study found. That was true in many of the countries PAI rated as "moderate," "high" or "very high" risk. In a few African nations such as Mali or Somalia, maternal death rates are as high as 1,000 or more per 100,000 births.

Lethal U.S. Embrace in Asia

OPINION
Jim Hoagland

CHINA'S reported decision to send M-11 missiles to Pakistan is more than a crummy little double-cross on arms sales, more than one more Chinese thumb in the Clinton eye. Beijing's act strikes at one of the most sophisticated, important and sensitive diplomatic campaigns undertaken in this presidency. The missile delivery cannot be swept under the rug.

It strikes at U.S. efforts to build a nuclear firebreak in South Asia by persuading Pakistan and India to refrain from moves toward deploying atomic weapons. Unable to put the nuclear genie back in the bottle in South Asia, the United States has focused instead on getting both countries to pledge they won't miniaturize warheads and deploy them on missiles or nuclear-capable aircraft.

The crated Chinese M-11s spotted by U.S. intelligence in Pakistan recently can be adapted for nuclear warheads. So can the Prithvi rocket India is developing. Missile acquisition and development bring closer the nuclear arms race in South Asia the administration seeks to prevent.

The White House and the State Department have moved slowly in dealing with the intelligence reports on the M-11s, disclosed by The Washington Post on July 3. This is not only because of the Clintonites' concern over their much publicized problems with China. Publicity about the missile deliveries also undermines the administration's sincere but misguided efforts to shore up the shaky Pakistani government of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

South Asia presents the world with its most serious long-term danger on the nuclear front, some seasoned U.S. diplomats and senior officials believe. President Clinton has been persuaded by the State Department that Bhutto is a force for restraint in the subcontinent and needs a warm American embrace to survive.

Noble sentiment. But Bhutto has not been able to translate the effusive welcome Clinton gave her in Washington in April into a stronger position at home. She cannot effectively restrain her own competing military and intelligence establishments, as the secret continuing work on M-11 storage sheds, launch sites and launch vehicles detected by U.S. satellite photography demonstrates.

Concerned almost exclusively with helping out Bhutto, the State Department's South Asia bureau has urged several times this year that Clinton promise to fight personally on Capitol Hill for the delivery to Pakistan of 28 F-16 fighter bombers. Congress blocked that delivery in 1990, when it became clear that Pakistan had acquired the material and technology to assemble a nuclear device within a matter of weeks.

Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott turned down the bureau's recommendation, adopting instead competing recommendations for a sympathetic but more ambiguous stance on the F-16 issue. The South Asia experts have tenaciously fought on since then to put the administration's prestige behind Bhutto. They want to send her $300 million of other weapons, such as P-3 reconnaissance aircraft and Harpoon missiles, a proposal now on its way to Congress.

Delivering weapons to help out a leader in trouble at home is almost always a bad idea. It grows out of clientitis, which seems to infect the South Asia bureau's approach to Pakistan.

A few weeks ago, after this column revealed that Pakistani governments had helped Iran develop a nuclear technology blueprint before Bhutto came to power, Nick Burns, the State Department's able spokesman, denied my report in a conversation with Pakistani journalists, who fired exculpatory dispatches homeward. Since then, at my urging, Burns has checked the guidance given him by the South Asia bureau and found it to have been in error.

More is at stake here than bruised journalistic or bureaucratic ego. The administration needs to see clearly that pandering to a fragile Pakistani leadership, with arms shipments or whitewashing disagreeable news, is a flawed and self-defeating strategy. The best way to guard against disaster in South Asia is to pursue policies in the long-term interest of both Pakistan and the United States.

That point was underscored a few days ago by a report of the foreign affairs committee of Pakistan's Senate, which is dominated by Bhutto's opposition. "No option remains for Pakistan except to fall back on nuclear capability as the weapon of last resort," the report says. "It would not be realistic for Pakistan to try to recapture the closeness of the relationship that existed with the United States when they were allies. Our policy should be a handshake but no embrace."

Not bad advice for Washington as well as Islamabad. Arms packages that try to pretend Pakistan is still a trusted U.S. ally send the wrong message. Bhutto needs to show that she can do more to stop the South Asia missile race before she is accorded a U.S. embrace with lethal arms.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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After Russia's Nervous Breakdown

Western hopes that a liberal democracy would emerge following the collapse of Communism may have proved premature, but there are signs that Russians are coming to terms with their brave new world. **Fred Hiatt** and **Margaret Shapiro** report

TWO YEARS ago, sipping tea in our tumbledown but beloved dacha, we wondered whether Russian economic success might someday price foreigners like us out of the rental market. It seemed, at the nadir of Russia's troubles, highly unlikely. The dollar reigned, and neighbors from miles around asked our landlady how to find flush "Amerikantsy" like us.

How quickly that "someday" arrived. As we complete our tour here, rich Russians are renting and building all around us, and foreigners have been discarded like a passing whim. We hang on only through the kindness and loyalty of our landlady.

Contrary to a common misimpression abroad, things in Russia aren't entirely going to hell. People aren't starving, standing in bread lines or forever cowering behind steel doors for fear of getting shot. Millions have taken to personal freedom and entrepreneurial opportunity with a fervor defying all forecasts. After two or three years of what amounted to a collective nervous breakdown following the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia is haltingly putting itself back together, and without the widely predicted mass unemployment and social unrest. Even if the Communists and nationalists sweep the next election, shutting out those who call themselves "democrats" — as is quite likely — beware the doomsday interpretations that will follow. It won't necessarily mean democracy in Russia is dead.

While no one can say what kind of country will emerge, it will not be the liberal democracy we so blithely imagined the first time we saw Red Square on a brilliant day nearly four years ago. That first time was a warm Thursday morning in August, with the sunshine dancing playfully off the domes of St. Basil's. In its 850 years, this city had never looked so good.

A hardline Communist coup had collapsed with little bloodshed, and democracy was just around the corner. Thousands of Russians, young and triumphant and still somewhat in shock, strolled across Red Square's cobblestones, unafraid for the first time in the shadow of the Kremlin and, in many cases, literally weeping with joy. The story of the coming years, it seemed on that crisp and smogless morning, would be the emergence of liberal democracy from the ashes of failed dictatorship.

Instead came a slide into unaccustomed freedom shading toward chaos and survival-of-the-fittest barbarity. It was a time when the unimaginable became commonplace: when children took control of Airbus jets and flew them into the ground, when old ladies were murdered for their privatized apartments, when a family's life savings could no longer buy a child's toy, and when scientists took jobs hawking Kiwi liquor and cheap Chinese clothes.

Such insecurity remains today. But there is no doubt that some sense of normalcy is returning to Russian life too, without bread lines, and with more color and variety and opportunity than people here have ever known. When the Soviet Union collapsed, Russians incessantly cited one particular piece of scripture. The Jews had wandered in the desert for 40 years, they said, because God wanted no one with even a memory of slavery to enter the Promised Land. So, here, they said, a generation or two would have to pass before the moral corruption of Communism disappeared.

In some respects, the past four years seem to vindicate that view. Many of the "good guys" of the democracy movement have proven as infected as their predecessors with the amorality of Soviet rule — a bullying disregard for the rule of law, a contempt for the weak, a thirst to steal from comrades and government alike, and a desire to flaunt their booty. Chechnya has shown that the brutishness of leaders, from Russian President Boris Yeltsin down, remains a deep-rooted reflex.

Moreover, some Sovietisms (often former czarisms) are returning. The KGB is no longer called the KGB, but its agents once again question foreigners suspiciously in airports and hotels. Government agents can once again conduct searches without court approval. Armored vehicles and machine-gun-toting police patrol Moscow streets, hassling anyone with the dark skin of Chechens.

Yet, in many respects, life has changed so much and so quickly that it seems the biblical generation has passed in four years, not 40.

Today, to start with the truly significant, you can get a hair wrap on the Old Arbat. You can eat Mexican food in an outdoor cafe. The Pizza Hut that was once divided between dollars-only (no line) and rubles only (two-hour wait) is now split between smoking and no-smoking, both sides accepting rubles. Moscow has malls and Reebok stores, and a French hairdresser.

The Western consumer goods for which foreigners used to fly to Helsinki — fashion magazines, razor blades, M&M's, olive oil, ice skates — are all available here, albeit at astronomical prices. So are services like one-hour photo developing, pizza delivery, video rental and dental care with disposable needles and Muzak-like tapes. And it is all aimed at Russians, who buy the magazines and correspond by e-mail.

Beyond Moscow, in the pine woods outside our dacha, it is Russians who are building monstrous, clumsy brick houses they call *kottedzhi*, or cottages. It is their hirelings — often Armenian or Ukrainian "guest workers" — who regularly drown out our neighbor's rooster with their hammering and their listing, brick-laden trucks nosing their way along our muddy track. It is their Jeep Cherokees and BMWs that on Sunday evenings make the half-hour drive back to town a two-hour, Bay Bridge-style nightmare.

All of this, admittedly, causes some unease. For summers immemorial, our village was a place of escape, of front-porch samovars and long rope swings, of mushroom-gathering and plum-preserve-making. Here, away from the grime and crime of the big city, fall really smelled like fall, winter was pure and white and summer evenings seemed to last forever.



False economy . . . The shops may stock western goods, but life remains very hard for the majority of Russians PHOTO: ANDRAS BANKUTI

Now, the city is encroaching. Alongside the two-lane road into town, old women still graze their goats and geese and still fetch water from the public pump. But a bank has built a branch office on the route, and there are billboards, a small supermarket and a Guinness beer garden to complement the roadside offerings of garden dill and potatoes. Moreover, the bold new masters of the forest, razing ramshackle wooden homes and fine stands of old birch, are the New Russians, and like nouveau riche everywhere, they engender disgust among the more cultured and couth old-timers of our village. The arrogant newcomers bribe to obtain their land, and to get roads paved, and to divert gas and water away from the old-timers. Of course, the old-timers — artists, movie directors, scientists — made their compromises too, to win their dachas.

For our dacha neighbors Lena and Andrei, the descent into collective breakdown and partial recovery is more than political theory. Four years ago, Andrei, then 32, was designing computers in a research institute, Lena stayed home with the younger of two children. Their life was stable though not luxurious; they shared a shack of a dacha with a grandmother, but a car was well beyond their means. Andrei didn't work too hard, and they never worried about going hungry. They had never met a foreigner before.

Then the breakdown came. The government stopped paying Andrei's institute, and his institute stopped paying salaries. For months, he and his colleagues sat at their desks, not unemployed but not working, either. For a time, the extended family survived on a job we found for Lena, cleaning house for a foreigner once a week. Public day-care had become so expensive that Andrei stayed home with their daughter. Then he took a job as a bakery clerk; we visited him once, embarrassed in his white cap and gown. He did physical labor at construction sites and grew alarmingly thin.

Today, Andrei is back at work designing computers, his institute having formed a partnership with a US firm. Lena has a responsible job in a municipal office. Their daughter is in full-day kindergarten. For many Russians, the idea that rescue came from abroad makes theirs far from a happy ending. Andrei and Lena themselves fear for their children's future. But for now, life isn't bad. Last we saw them, Lena was teasing Andrei about his growing paunch.

LIFE remains unbearably hard for much of the population. Many Russian women respond by simply refusing to give birth, and the number of children declines year by year as the indicators of third-world poverty become more and more apparent. Life expectancy for males has slid nearly 10 years to 58.

Diphtheria has made a frightening comeback, and even cholera has shown up in Moscow this summer. Most Russians still live in slummy apartment blocks, with listing balconies, smog-streaked walls and urine-soaked, unlit entries. Overcrowded jails, leaking oil pipelines, Siberian cities dependent on dying industries — the problems have, in many cases, only worsened.

Yet walk Moscow's streets on any holiday and you will see that children are better-dressed than ever and that many of their proud fathers are carrying video cameras. Opportunity in the provinces remains far more constrained, especially for teachers, scientists and other intellectuals. But despite official corruption and mafia thugs, small business is flourishing everywhere: There are new pizza parlors in Usinsk, outdoor cafes in Volgograd, bustling cheese shops in Nizhny Novgorod.

After four years of dire predictions only partly fulfilled, it now seems clear that Russia has a greater ability to muddle through than many people imagined. This is due partly to Russians' famed tolerance for abuse and for crises that would drive other people mad, and partly to the nation's oil, gas and diamond riches.

Russia also has a boisterous political culture with vibrant, iconoclastic media and a government at least partially tuned to public opinion. Two years ago, it was frightening to imagine Russia without reforming democrat Boris Yeltsin, the rock of stability amid political turmoil. Today, even before his recent hospitalization, Yeltsin had become somewhat marginalized — a puffy, dissolute object of mockery — but Moscow is full of political figures eager to take their turn. Many would-be political leaders, like ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky or recently-retired general Alexander Lebed, bode nothing but ill in their calls for a strong hand at home and abroad and their contempt for democratic niceties. But at least for the moment, they are willing to play by constitutional rules.

While Russia is more assertive in its rhetoric, it remains too weak to reestablish a military or economic presence much beyond its borders. But insecurity and injured pride increasingly express themselves in the tough talk of a resentful adolescent. That mood makes Russia, like many surly teenagers, hard to love. While remaining realists about the pitfalls ahead, Americans also should take Russians' own gloom with a grain of salt.

In Volgograd, an industrial city in Russia's heartland, few people feel confident in the future. "The Communists destroyed morality and spirituality, they destroyed faith and belief, and they created a soil where cruelty and injustice and and immorality could flourish," said Rudolf Kulgussky, himself a former Party official. "Now there is poverty and disappointment, and there are rich people who don't seem to produce anything, and all this evokes a feeling of protest and cynicism. No one believes in a brighter future . . . But, of course, we understand that the old system couldn't work."

After decades of propaganda about sacrificing for the state, Russians have entered an intensely private phase. News from abroad, for which they thirsted when the Iron Curtain lifted, no longer interests them much. Organized religion, political parties, even big sports events attract less interest.

This too, many Russians say, is a phase. Like Russia's injured nationalist pride, it is a phase that will last years, and that will try the patience of the outside world as Russia seeks to define its new identity. We met many people during our four years here who predicted that the end result would be dictatorship and new confrontation between Russia and the world. But we also met optimists — and there are a few — who believe that society will emerge stronger and more democratic for the citizens who are now learning, slowly and hesitantly, to go their own way.

Fred Hiatt and Margaret Shapiro have just completed four years in The Washington Post's Moscow bureau.

Brushes With Death

John Crowley

ATHENA
By John Banville
Knopf. 233 pp. $22

JOHN BANVILLE'S new book — though the publisher nowhere admits it, in the book itself or the pre-publication advertising — is the third (perhaps final) volume of a serial novel, which began with The Book Of Evidence (1990) and continued with Ghosts (1993). Perhaps the publisher fears that readers who have not read the earlier volumes will not buy this one if they know. Better, apparently, that they should find themselves immersed in something that seems teasingly incomplete. Some American reviewers of Ghosts who read it without reference to the first novel — reviewers of novels being under no obligation to research the earlier works of their assigned subjects — were puzzled, understandably. For the three indeed are a series, as ambitious and original a series as Durrell's Alexandria Quartet, and better written. Readers should begin at the beginning.

In the first novel, an atrocious murder is committed in the course of the theft of a priceless painting. All the terms of this original circumstance, like poison pellets, proceed through the tissues of the subsequent novels: murder, painting, theft, atrocious, priceless. Freddie Montgomery, indolent egoist murderer in The Book Of Evidence, haunted ex-con and novice art-expert in Ghosts, is entangled in Athena with a set of 17th-century Dutch paintings, apparently the ones recently looted from "Whitewater," country house of art collector Helmut Behrens, the same grand mansion from which Freddie once stole that first painting, in the course of committing the first murder.

He has changed his name now, to Morrow — "I chose it for its faintly hopeful hint of futurity" — and come to an empty house in an out-of-the-way Dublin neighborhood ("The house was in . . . What shall I call it? Rue Street, that sounds right") to work for the bizarre gang of thieves who have looted Whitewater, cataloguing and authenticating their pictures. He is held there in the otherwise vacant house by a woman, a woman to whom this book is addressed, to whom the events in which she took part are narrated, and who has fled:

"Were you waiting all along to go, poised to leap? It seems to me now that even as I held you clasped in my appalled embrace you were already looking back at me, like one lingering on the brink of departure, all that you were leaving already fading in your glance, becoming memory even as it stood before you. Were you part of the plot, a party to it? I would like to know. I think I would like to know."

The affair with this woman he chooses to address simply as A. is the matter of this book: the steadily escalating intensity of it, the minute physical actualities of it, above all the continuous permeation of the surroundings by it — air, weather, skyscapes. He learns next to nothing of her life, and what little he is told he doesn't know whether to believe or not. It is she who raises the stakes in their coupling again and again, linking sex to pain and abasement and the telling of dreadful secrets, finally getting from him his awful story.

Just as dangerous, hilarious, exalting, entangling as the affair is the language in which it is cast: "Her miniature feet were of a reddish hue, and curiously splayed at the toes, betokening a barefoot childhood spent in some gaudy, aquatic region of mud and magnolia and shrieking birds. Oh, my Manon, where are you?"

The sharply delimited world of Athena (the intense affair, the single street, a small cast of comic supporting characters) is contained within but makes only glancing allusions to the world of the earlier books. We who have read them know that this man has a wife and a child in his past, whom he once left as hostages to a drug lord in Mallorca; that he once also had an affair of comparable intensity with the heiress of Whitewater. And there is the professor who may have once falsely certified a famous painting owned by Behrens; and there is the murdered chambermaid. And throughout the city of Athena women are being murdered, atrociously, by a serial killer.


Banville: At the height of his powers PHOTOGRAPH: E. HAMILTON WEST

And yet as dense and involved as this net of plot is, it is in a sense irrelevant and never completed, perhaps not able to be completed. It is comparable to the mythological subjects of the paintings the narrator studies — the occasion for the achieving of certain effects, and otherwise unimportant. Freddie has always been an unreliable narrator of the events; he is a connoisseur of his own sensations to whom the world otherwise remains opaque or illusory. But the reader now and then suspects that he is not only misrepresenting but creating, that on certain pages his author draws close enough to him to grant him a share in the inventing of the story he is supposed to be only living: "I felt myself carried off to other times and other, imaginary places: a spring day in Clichy (I have never been in Clichy), a hot, thundery evening on a road somewhere in North Africa (never been there either), a great, high, paneled room in an ancient chateau with straw-coloured sunlight on the faded tapestries and someone practicing on a spinet (though I have never seen a spinet or heard one played). Where do they come from, these mysterious, exalted flashes that are not memories yet seem far more than mere imaginings?"

They come, of course, from his author, who is the only provider of those and of every spasm and every crime. More than of the (imaginary) Flemish and Dutch artists he so lovingly and wittily brings to life, Banville's work reminds me of Tiepolo — the transparency, the presence and the frank brushwork admitting that what is to be enjoyed here is not only what is created but the artist's delight in creating.

In Hot Pursuit of Adultery's Delights

Michele Slung

THE WEIGHT OF LOVE
By John Herman
Doubleday. 328 pp. $23.95

BEYOND courtship and the first raptures of marriage, and about the time a relationship becomes routine, comes the recognition that adultery is, after all, something adults frequently commit. This familiar juncture is where John Herman's first novel, The Weight Of Love, seizes one's attention, as the story of a man whose extremely privileged WASP biography (Yale, Park Avenue wedding to a Vassar deb, a 10-room apartment on New York's Upper East Side, four kids in suitable private schools and weekends in Connecticut) will soon shift its focus. What has up until now struck 40-year-old David Smith as decent and right about his unquestionably successful life suddenly is drained of its pleasures by the "weight of boredom" which, after this significant birthday, seems to envelop him.

David himself — whose first-person narrative forms most though, importantly, not all of this book — reacts to his new sensations with neither irony nor angst; instead his nearly robotic impulse to seduce the first tantalizingly unavailable mother he meets at a school parents' night, is, I confess, oddly appealing in its simplicity. For it means that we are being beckoned into the realm of Romance — the masculine version, to be sure — and, therefore, the emphasis will be on the thermodynamics of the quest for the Other, the heat of erotic pursuit and capture, rather than on the trip-wirings of guilt and the draining rituals of divorce. A Brooks Brothers bodice-ripper, one might say. In this instance, when two pairs of eyes connect across a passageway, signaling fatal attraction, one of them — our hero's — happens to be gazing past the shoulder of a current mistress whose expensive undergarments he is at that very moment surreptitiously groping."

There certainly are other contemporary writers identified with such territory. One thinks, for example, of James Salter, whose 1978 book, Light Years, has turned into a sort of cult novel giving a gloss of hip intellectual elegance to the midlife sexual urge. One thinks also, of course, and even more readily, of John Updike. Herman, though is less exquisitely self-conscious than Updike, offering instead a perfectly unskeptical depiction of "high-strung, delicate, beautiful women [giving] themselves" to the unremarkable David Smith; whose merest touch soon sends them into shuddering paroxysms never before enjoyed.

Entertaining as this may be for many readers, even female ones, the imaginative stroke that saves The Weight Of Love from being merely slickly designed, top-of-the-line, guy-oriented fantasy is the unexpected narrative transition the story undergoes at just about the halfway point. It's another shift of the prism, really, albeit one a lot more startling than the emergence of David's calculating sensuality. This is because Helene, the aristocratic half-European with whom David has become obsessively involved, possesses the very capacity to surprise us so missing in her lover.

Henry James, surely, would approve. And doubtless Herman, himself a former editor at several New York publishing houses, is fully aware of his debt to James. It's unfortunate, then, considering Herman's obvious intelligence and sophistication that any reflections found in these pages touching on either the power of Eros or the haunting nature of its absence are less than memorable. Yes, it's a Romance — but its aura of worldliness, of posh seriousness, somehow leads us to expect better than "It is strange, the stages by which you realize you are in love with a woman. . . Then one day you realize it is too late, you have swallowed the hook."

Yet, since this sentence forms part of the tale as told by David Smith, it's possible it is meant simply to mirror the very predictability of which he himself seems so solipsistically unaware. That David is a heel is obvious, perhaps even to himself, but who can tell whether or not the author intends any playful symbolism connected to the self-inflicted injury for which David undergoes physical therapy, and which proves, in its own way, to be his undoing? And yet, however difficult it is to believe that it's the weight of love lending ballast to the life of such a self-indulgent man, we must also remember that the only heart ever truly accessible to us is our own.

Sins of The Father

Michael Shelden

EFFORTS AT TRUTH
By Nicholas Mosley
Dalkey Archive. 345 pp. $22.95

THROUGHOUT his life Nicholas Mosley has been trying to free himself from the dark shadow of his infamous father. He is deeply ashamed of his father's politics and helped to make amends during the war by serving as a British infantry platoon commander in Italy. He later wrote an honest account of his father's life, and for his pains he received harsh public criticism from some of Sir Oswald's old supporters.

It is little wonder that the son has worked hard to establish a career that is entirely different from his father's. Nicholas Mosley has had little to do with politics, preferring to devote most of his time and energy to writing fiction. He has written a dozen novels, the last one of which, Hopeful Monsters (1990), won Britain's Whitbread Prize. Now in his seventies, he has written an autobiography that is both revealing and evasive. He seems unable to decide which is better — the comforting mask of fiction or the cold light of public confession.

In matters of the heart Mosley has a lot to confess. Determined not to be a tyrannical father, he seems to have kept his four children at a safe distance for much of their lives. His book contains only a brief mention of them. More is said about the mother of these children — his first wife, Rosemary — but even she remains a vague figure whose appearance and personality are only hinted at. Their marriage begins promisingly enough, but after a few years Mosley begins a messy affair with a woman he calls Mary, and the bright hopes of the married couple soon fade.

It is the outsider — Mary — who comes to life most vividly in this book, and not because of anything that her former lover chooses to say about her. Long excerpts from her letters fill the early pages of the book, documenting the various stages of the affair, with little or no comment from Mosley. He says that his own letters to her have disappeared. In any event, her lively side of the correspondence is wonderful and, at times, extremely moving.

Part of the pleasure of reading her letters comes from piecing together the facts of her life. She was still in her teens when she became a British prisoner of the Japanese army. After her release she returned to England, and in 1951 she fell in love with Mosley. During the course of their affair she often alluded to her experiences in the prison camp, but not in a routine or matter-of-fact fashion. In just a few sentences her imaginative, energetic style can convey the full horror of her experiences: "Did you know that your love was photographed with a number two feet wide hung round her neck? That we had one coffin — and it used to go out in the afternoon not quite closed?"

Near the end of Mosley's book we learn that she is now dead. He gives no convincing explanation of why their affair ended. The only thing that her letters reveal is that the ending was immensely painful for her. I wish Mosley would make the love affair the subject of his next book and that he would tell it with all the candor he can muster.













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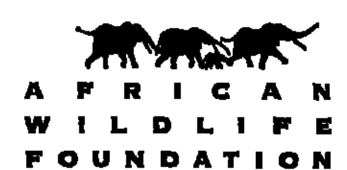
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Please contact:
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The Guardian Weekly

Moving images

OBITUARY
George Rodger

GEORGE RODGER, the photographer who has died aged 87, worked on that early Magnum story, People Are People The World Over. The title sums up a career that combined a love of travel with a fascination for the variety of human behaviour. Although his first published work was taken in England, the continent he undoubtedly loved most was Africa, which he criss-crossed several times in a Jeep, pausing repeatedly in the eastern and equatorial region.

The everyday interested him less than the exceptional — unless it took place under exceptional circumstances. Perhaps the three greatest testaments to this are his series on Masai circumcision ceremonies, the Nuba warriors' wrestling matches, and Londoners surviving the Blitz — all, in their own way, rites of passage, however dissimilar their character.

This set the fulcrum of his work in the 1940s and 1950s, a time of extraordinary fecundity in his chosen field of photojournalism. There Rodger established his own manner of working that would change little in the ensuing 50 years.

"Style" — with its fashionable connotations — was a word he despised, yet the characteristics of his work at its best are those that register the specificity of his subjects within their own environment. His work demonstrates no anthropological need for meticulous documentation and retains an ability to marvel at humanity's diversity.

Born at Hale, Cheshire, he left school without qualifications at the age of 17 and enrolled in the Merchant Navy. By the age of 19 he had twice travelled round the world, reaching the United States just as the Great Depression was beginning to hit in 1929. It was there, temporarily settled on a fruit farm, that he began borrowing a bathroom in which to process the film he had taken on his travels. It was another seven years, and a succession of odd jobs later, before he returned to England and the start of his photographic career.

In 1936 "sheer fluke", he later asserted, brought him temporary employment as a stills photographer with BBC-TV and into contact with a darkroom assistant called Esmeralda. She taught him how to use a studio camera and time developing film. A position with the Black Star press agency rapidly followed, and his work began to appear in the Tatler, Sketch, Bystander, Illustrated London News and, later, Picture Post.

It was the second world war, however, that brought him his first real opening, when Life magazine published his photographs Thames In Wartime and took him on, first as a freelancer, latterly as a staffer. His first assignment was to go with the Free French to the Cameroons. Somehow it extended from six weeks to two years. After a brief return to New York, he went to cover the Sicilian and D-Day landings and the opening of the concentration camp at Belsen.



Africa 1941: Rodger covered the Free French forces in Chad

This proved a formative experience and a moment of great change. As Rodger later recalled: "When I discovered that I could look at the horror of Belsen — the 4,000 dead and starving lying around — and think only of a nice photographic composition, I knew something had happened to me, and it had to stop."

Altogether he had spent five years covering the war for both Life and Time, for whom he supplied his own accompanying text. However, he felt increasingly out of sympathy with the post-war stance of both magazines and in 1947, together with Henri Cartier-Bresson, Robert Capa and "Chim" Seymour (among others) he founded the Paris-based Magnum photographic agency — becoming its sole British member.

Rodger decided to cover Africa and the Middle East for them, obtaining commissions from such diverse sources as Standard Oil and the National Geographic magazine, and support from the Arts Council in Britain. His books, Le Village Des Noubas (1955), Les Elephants Ont Priorité and George Rodger En Afrique (1982) are the outcomes of this love for the ways of life in a region which, as he himself said, "are now so rapidly disappearing they hardly exist".

In his travels he shared many such lifestyles. He claimed it was because of "an aptitude for not appearing white" — remarkable for a tall, bespectacled Englishman with a shock of white hair.

Perhaps the dehumanising experience of being a war photographer culminating in his revulsion at Belsen, had indirectly led to a rejection of European inhumanity, or perhaps his sense of a common humanity had deepened to a degree where race and nationality no longer had a meaning for him: either way, Rodger found an affinity with the remotest peoples.

His American wife, Jinx, who survives him, described him as "a chameleon, because he could always become part of his environment". To the rest of us he will remain in memory a mild-mannered, modest and respectful photographer with a vivid turn of phrase and some of the most directly evocative images of a vanished world.

Amanda Hopkinson

George Rodger, photographer, born March 19, 1908; died July 24, 1995

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY
August 6 1995

Notes & Queres Joseph Harker

IF Pontius Pilate had released Jesus . . . what then?

PONTIUS PILATE would be castigated, to this day, as a wimp by our Tory press. — *Frank Desmond, Twickenham, Surrey*

SINCE it was essential for the redemption of us humans that Jesus should suffer and die, the roles of Pontius Pilate and Judas must have been God-ordained, making them incapable of acting differently. If they had managed to opt out, God presumably would have found alternative agents. If Jesus had lived to a ripe old age and died happily, the resurrection would hardly have had the same impact — *Seumas Stewart, Gloucestershire*

DOES any other country have a national anthem whose words are solely about its head of state?

YES, JORDAN. It is also apparently the shortest in the world. The whole thing translates roughly: "Long live the King, long live the King. His place is the most honoured as his banner waves on high." — *Ali Abunimah, Rome, Italy*

ARE there any reports of birds having been struck by lightning while in flight?

A PEDESTRIAN crossing a bridge in Heidelberg suffered serious head injuries when struck by a swan falling out of the sky. Lightning was blamed but an autopsy showed cardiac arrest in midflight as the cause of death. The pedestrian recovered. — *Reinhard Baildon, Heidelberg, Germany*

MY FATHER knew a doctoral student in Pietermaritsburg (RSA) who was studying Lammergeiers in the Drakensburg Mountains. His field work was cut short when his final research animal was indeed killed by lightning while in flight. — *Iain Thomas, Sydney, Australia*

THE VOLTAGE across even a big bird's wingspan will be insignificant compared with the enormous voltages in a lightning strike. Birds in flight are, therefore, not going to attract lightning but a few do happen to be struck — as in Arkansas in 1973 when four ducks suffered singed feathers. However, storms can kill birds with enormous hailstones, such as happened in Essex in September 1992, when 3,238 birds of 40 species were found dead. — *Chris Mead, British Trust of Ornithology, Norfolk*

WHAT would be a good argument to show that rationality is a flawed concept?

NONE, if by "argument" we mean "rational argument" and by "flawed" that which is incorrect according to a pre-given set of rational criteria. If, however, we ask the question "What is rationality?", we leave open the possible meaning of the term "rational" and thus of "non-rational". This is because "What is rationality?" asks for the grounds concerning the asking of any question at all, including itself. This approach articulates fully the dilemma posed by the original question, without necessarily embroiling oneself in the pseudo-problem of self-contradiction. — *Simon Ross, Dept of Politics and Philosophy, Manchester Metropolitan University*

BECAUSE I said so. — *Jim Lodge, London*

Any answers?

WHAT is the origin of the term "frogmarch"? — *Jeremy Gale, London*

WHY "spitting image"? The phrase is international (*portrait craché* in French)? — *Michael Prendeville, Belves, France*

WHAT is the origin of the tradition of wedding anniversaries being represented by certain substances? — *Katy Etherington, Iver Heath, Buckinghamshire*

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ



A Country Diary

Michael Binnie

INDUS DELTA, Pakistan: The aim of our expedition was to find out about "boolah" net fishing. The delta is a mass of islands and inlets, and at high water at certain spring tides the fishermen spread nets across the channel mouths. As the water rushes out during the strong ebb the boolah nets scoop everything up. From the tiniest fish to those of commercial value, nothing is spared. Officially the practice is banned but its use is widespread.

We stopped at a village and tea was prepared. At first the fishermen were reluctant to talk. No, we don't go in for boolah netting but perhaps in the next village . . . who knows? Gradually we gained their confidence. Yes, the boolah netting goes on but there are risks attached. If any of the big Mafia fishing families find out they destroy all the equipment.

Around us on the mudflats lay beautiful wooden boats at various stages of construction. Standing thigh deep in water a man was casting his net into the shallows with the action of a leg-spinner.

Having fixed a price a man agreed to take us into the delta. We chugged out into the mangrove swamps. All manner of waders minced about in the mud and once we passed a huge colony of pariah kites perched on projecting tree stumps.

The pied kingfishers hover, sometimes as high as 30 feet. Then, suddenly, *pfft*, one would plunge into the water and emerge with a silvery, wriggling tit-bit.

Of the actual boolah nets we saw nothing. However, once or twice our guide would point and there, on either side of a narrow entrance, would be a pair of telltale, weathered poles.

We returned home pretty satisfied with our day's work.

NINE red kites soared majestically over the Midlands last week for the first time since the Victorians all but exterminated the breed 100 years ago.

The birds, donated by Spain, were released at a secret location as part of a plan to re-populate Britain with kites, whose only enemy appears to be man.

Two other schemes to reintroduce them to northern Scotland and southern England began secretly in 1989. This year 13 pairs are nesting in Scotland with a total of 26 young and in southern England 21 nests have produced 53 young.

The kites released last week are expected to be breeding in two years.

They are often to be found on rubbish tips in central Wales, the only place in the United Kingdom where the bird was not driven to extinction.

PHOTOGRAPH: MURDO MacLEOD

Letter from Bamako Jeanne Lacville

Waiter, there's sand in my camel

THE EDITOR says that he does *not* want this turned into a cookery column! But he has given me permission to reply to Jenny Cuevas and her lovely turkey recipes from Guatemala (June 18).

Turkeys do indeed seem strange fragile creatures to us, living in West Africa. We have lost more turkey chicks (usually trampled underfoot by their clumsy mother) than we have ever managed to get into the pot. Now we have Jenny's advice from *outre-Atlantique* about getting a turkey drunk, to make him soft and tender before the slaughter.

Lacville reacts rather like your Guatemalan turkey. We have no Botran rum; millet beer is too weak; and while palm wine is nice when fresh, it becomes hideously acrid when alcoholic. But feed Lacville just one glass of Glenfiddich under the tropical sun, and he turns into a floppy, dozy mass of flesh. Like a tough bush turkey, he becomes soft and easily cookable.

The citizens of Timbuktu have similar underground roasting methods to Jenny Cuevas's recipes from Guatemala. But I claim superior skills and more ambitious banquets than those Jenny describes. For while we have no tender native turkeys, we have ostriches, and camels and sheep . . .

Here is a Tuareg recipe for a Grand Mechui, a Clan Super-Roast, which feeds between 65 and 97 people. It is not that different from those medieval English banquets which had blackbirds roasting inside a peacock inside a wild boar.

Ingredients:
1 camel (young for preference)
1 sheep (the most tender is a pregnant ewe)
6 chickens (tipsy, on Jenny's advice)
20 kilos of couscous (millet or wheat)
4 kg of mixed pounded aniseed and cumin
salt and oil according to taste

Culinary method:
1. Dig a hole on the south-facing slope of a sand dune. The hole should be bigger than the camel. Leave the hole in the sun for three hours, and it will reach 60C.
2. Slaughter, empty but do not skin the camel.
3. Slaughter, empty and skin the sheep.
4. Slaughter, empty and pluck the chickens.
5. Bring stones, and build a fire on the stones at the bottom of the hole to increase the heat of the sand.
6. Prepare the couscous and mix it with the spices.
7. Inside the sheep place the chickens (+ oil and salt);
Inside the sheep and chickens place lots of couscous;
Inside the camel place the sheep and the remaining couscous;
Inside the hole place the camel (on top of the hot stones).
8. Cover the camel with hot sand.
9. Build a fire on the sand above the camel, with more stones to retain the heat, and leave it to cook till dusk.
10. When supper-time comes and the clan is gathered, you dig up the camel, which has been roasting for (say) 10 hours. By this time it is tender, filled with the aroma of cumin and aniseed, giving an exotic Moroccan flavour to the roast.
11. Remove the sand from the camel.

Your average Targui (which is the singular of Tuareg) lives in the sand, sleeps in the sand, and doesn't even notice if there is a bit of sand in his meat. Indeed, the sand is responsible for wearing down Tuareg teeth (or so they tell me), and this has been true since the time of the Pharaohs, whose mummies also have worn-down teeth.

To complete the preparations for their roasting banquet, the Tuareg hit the camel with a stick, and the sand — well, some of it — falls off! I do not like sand in my meat. I eat chicken and sheep, but I do not appreciate gritty camel. Lacville doesn't mind sand: he is not French, and has no sense of gastronomy. He eats anything African, even warm fresh monkey brains (a Cameroonian speciality). Even Lacville has worn teeth.

We have never eaten sand-roasted ostrich. I have eaten ostrich only once, and I didn't approve. It was during the time of the General President-Dictator, when the military ran the north under their own rules. A colonel had shot the ostrich one morning north of Timbuktu. Ostriches are a protected species. But so (in those days) were colonels.

The colonel tied the ostrich to the bonnet of his Land Rover. At midday when they stopped for lunch, he turned the ostrich over. By sundown, when Lacville and I met him, the ostrich had been sun-roasting for 10 hours. It was a tender treat, roasted in its own skin and juices. All ostriches are long-distance runners. Yet I am quite certain that no one had fed it Botran rum or Glenfiddich.

No more culinary delights, however elaborate their recipes, bizarre their ingredients, or cunning their methods of preparation, will be entertained in this series — *Editor*

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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Chess Leonard Barden

JOOP VAN OOSTEROM, the Dutch computer millionaire and chess patron, likes a musical theme for his tournaments. Vienna was the waltz, Monaco the paladienne. Last year in Buenos Aires, the GMs even had to perform the tango before drawing their seeding numbers, and a wan-smiled Karpov was snapped almost tripping over his partner's feet.

Van Oosterom's 1995 annual Women v Veterans match was the polka, played in Prague. As the women's team has scored better almost every year, so the veteran squad has enlisted more illustrious members. This time Korchnoi, the world's highest ranked over-50, made his debut alongside ex-world champions Spassky and Smyslov and ex-candidates Hort and Portisch.

But the women's team have long lost their awe of great names, and despite being heavily out-rated, they won by an impressive 26½/23½. Cue Bobby Fischer, aged 52, who once offered knight odds to any woman? Perhaps in 1996 the match will be in suburban Budapest where Fischer now lives, complete with bullet-proof and sound-proof screens, randomised starting positions, and most of van Oosterom's fortune spent on an appearance fee.

Vassily Smyslov-Judit Polgar, Sicilian

1 e4 c5 2 Nf3 Qc7?! A rare choice. Now 3 d4 cxd4(d6 4 d5) 4 Nxd4 should reach a main line Sicilian where Black's queen is committed early. **3 c3 d6 4 d4 Nf6 5 Bd3** Smyslov tries to be solid and unbookish but drifts into passive mode.

g6 6 h3 Bg7 7 0-0 0-0 8 Be3 b6 9 Nbd2 e5! The Sicilian has become a kind of King's Indian where the blocked centre offers White's pieces little scope.

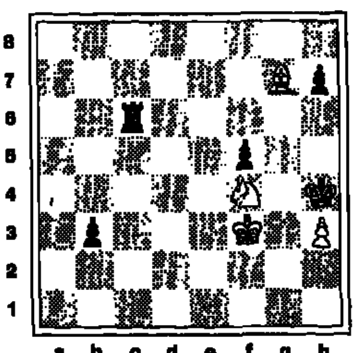
10 Re1 Nc6 11 dxe5 If 11 d5 Ne7 followed by Ne8 and f5 takes the initiative.

dxe5 12 Qc2 Bb7 13 Rad1 Rad8 14 Bg5 Rd7 15 Nf1 Rfd8 16 Ne3 Ne7 17 Bxf6 Bxf6 18 Bc4? This belated try for activity fails. Better to wait by 18 g3, since Black has problems in regrouping. Both Qc8 (planning Qa8) 19 Ng4, and 18 . . . Kg7 19 Ng4 c4 20 Qc1! run into tactics while Rxd3? 19 Rxd3 Bxe4 20 Rxd8+ is unsound.

Rxd1 19 Rxd1 Rxd1+ 20 Nxd1 Qc6 21 Qb3 If 21 Nd2 b5 22 Bf1 c4 and Black increases the pressure on e4 by Bg5 and Nc8-d6. **Qxe4 22 Bxf7+ Kg7 23 Ne3 Qb1+ 24 Nf1 e4 25 Nd2 Qe1** The queen invasion is decisive, opening up Black's sleepy bishops. If now 26 g3 (to stop Bh4) Bg5 27 Qc2 e3 wins.

26 Be8 Bd5 27 Qa4 Bh4 28 g3 e3! 29 fxe3 Bg5 30 Resigns.

No 2381



Gligoric v Liberzon, Moscow 1963. This puzzle has caught out both grandmasters and solvers in its time; see if you can do better. Black (to play) has rook and two pawns for White's B and N, but the BK is endangered.

Liberzon went 1 . . . Kg5 2 Kg3 (threat 3 h4 mate) Rh6 and they soon drew. A watching Russian master said to Gligoric: "You would have lost after 1 . . . Rb6 2 Bd4 b2." "No, then I would have won," replied Gligoric. Later, the position was published and a reader claimed "After 2 . . . b2 it's a draw." Who was right?

No 2380: 1 Kg7 Kd4 2 Kg6+ Kd5 3 Kf6 Kd4 4 Ke7+ Kd5 5 Ne5 Kd4 6 Nc4+ Kd5 7 Ne3 mate.

Lotus harvest

Ralph Whitlock

A FEW WEEKS ago I wrote about a Japanese couple who visited their native Japan for the first time and were amazed to find the extent to which lotus is grown as a commercial crop. They confessed to surprise at finding entire hillsides a patchwork of lotus fields. But I did not have enough space to mention that other typical Japanese crop — seaweed.

She writes: "In many of the bays around the Pacific coast there is an extensive yet delicate tracery of bamboo or brushwood screens sticking up out of the sea. The seaweed which is cultivated on them is pre-cut into small rectangles and packed airtight. The brittle, dark shiny green weed forms a nutritious wrapping for rice balls, many of which are eaten at breakfast along with fish.".

Now it seems that seaweed is enjoying a vogue in Britain. At the moment there are four varieties fairly readily available in supermarkets. They are dulse, nori, *haricots de la mer* and green sea-lettuce or green laver. Nori and *haricots de la mer* are tasteless if eaten raw. In supermarkets they come in deep plastic cartons, damp and glistening with crystals of rock salt. The other two are supplied in delicate sheets, and green sea-lettuce may even be eaten raw. Fortunately, unlike wild fungi, they are quite harmless. Palatability is the only criterion.

Fresh seaweed, though known to the crofters of Scotland and Ireland, is a novelty to the English public but may see an upsurge of popularity. Chefs are experimenting with sauces and seasoning, and a winner seems to be any firm-fleshed white fish or prawns, served hot and with only pepper and salt and seaweed as garnishing. But it has a long way to go before it is generally accepted.

And now a letter from a Somerset reader who, writing of her childhood in Manchuria, in the 1920s, describes a very different method of cultivating lotus roots which were then in vogue. She writes: "Lotus roots were yanked out of the mud at the bottom of an all-but-stagnant river by the agile feet of the harvesters. Up to their armpits in water, these tallish men would tread the deep mud from which the decaying five-feet stalks rose, looking for the tubers which were added to the pile on the small raft that each man towed. He would have a pole to steady himself and to which the raft was tied.

"I think this would take place in September, for before October was out snow would come and the river begin to freeze, ultimately to a depth of six feet. Before spring the ice was harvested, to be stored in deep, enormous pits. The Chinese loved their water ices. Incidentally, the well-to-do supped the gelatinous lotus-root soup at the end of their substantial meals. The harvesters had to be content with their daily bowl of boiled millet, soya-bean curd, with a dash of soya sauce."

This style of cultivation and harvesting is so different from the terraced hillsides described by my Japanese correspondent that one wonders whether they are referring to the same crop. Perhaps present-day genetics has achieved a lotus-plant for dry hillsides.

Bridge Zia Mahmood

THE BRITISH women at the Generali European Championships were in fourth place with a match to play. The top four teams would qualify for the World Championships in Beijing later this year, so Britain had good chances since her last-round opponent would be Croatia, one of the bottom teams. But the Austrians were ready to snatch the prize if Britain faltered, and Poland had an outside shot if both teams fell, so there was no room for complacency.

With six boards remaining, it looked all over. Britain were so far ahead against Croatia that whatever Austria or Poland could do would not be good enough. Then came a series of calamitous results for Britain. A grand slam on a finesse was bid by Croatia and missed by the British ladies. The finesse won. A small slam on a finesse was bid by Britain, not by Croatia. The finesse lost. A 5-0 break in trumps doomed a British game to defeat, while Croatia stopped in a part score.

The position was desperate when this deal flashed up on the Vu-graph screen. Love all, dealer East.

Davies's cue bid of four diamonds showed a shortage in that suit and support for hearts, so the British pair rested in the correct game contract. West led her singleton spade. The British supporters could see that the contract could be made by drawing trumps and relying on the opening bidder for the ace of clubs — but if Nicola Smith was even the least bit greedy and tried to cash a second spade, West would ruff and the game would go down. Not she! Nicola discarded a club on dummy's ace of spades, then called for a trump. It was a simple matter now to bring in 10 tricks, but the only hope for a much-needed swing was that the Croatians might somehow muddle the bidding at the other table.

North
♠ A K Q J 7 5
♥ 10 9 5
♦ 2
♣ K 9 6

West
♠ 6
♥ A 6
♦ A Q 8 6 5
♣ A Q 10 5 4

East
♠ 10 9 8 4 3 2
♥ 4 3
♦ 10 9 3
♣ J 3

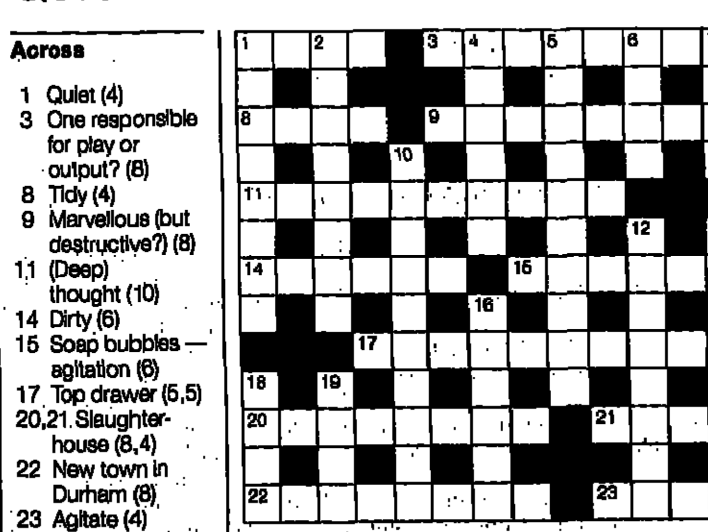
South
♠ None
♥ K Q J 8 7 2
♦ K J 7 4
♣ 8 7 2

South Smith	West Petrovic	North Davies	East K'par
	1♦	1♠	No
2♥	3♣	4♦	No
4♥	No	No	No

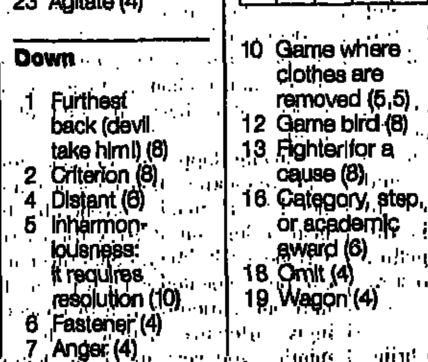
When they reached the same contract, the position appeared hopeless. Sandra Landy as West also led her singleton spade, but now came a variation. Declarer won the ace of spades, discarding a club, and led dummy's diamond at trick two. Landy won declarer's jack with her queen and played ace and another club. South won with the king in dummy and played on cross-ruff lines — a spade was ruffed with the seven, a diamond ruffed in dummy, a spade ruffed with the eight, a diamond ruffed with the nine, a spade ruffed with the jack, a diamond ruffed with the 10 and a club led from the table.

Michele Handley stuck in the three of trumps — and this mighty card was enough to force declarer to overruff with the queen. Incredibly, Landy's A6 of hearts were now a tenace over South's K2, and the contract was one down. Britain held on to draw with Croatia, Austria were also held to a draw by Iceland, and when Poland could not do enough, Britain had taken the final qualifying spot at the last gasp.

Quick crossword no. 273

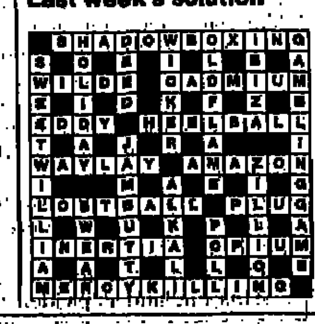


Across
1 Quiet (4)
3 One responsible for play or output? (8)
8 Tidy (4)
9 Marvellous (but destructive?) (8)
11 (Deep) thought (10)
14 Dirty (6)
15 Soap bubbles — agitation (6)
17 Top drawer (5,5)
20,21 Slaughter-house (8,4)
22 New town in Durham (8)
23 Agitate (4)



Down
1 Furthest back (devil take him!) (8)
2 Criterion (8)
4 Distant (6)
5 Inharmoniousness: it requires resolution (10)
6 Fastener (4)
7 Anger (4)
10 Game where clothes are removed (5,5)
12 Game bird (8)
13 Fighter for a cause (8)
16 Category, step, or academic award (6)
18 Omit (4)
19 Wagon (4)

Last week's solution



Dancing queen

At 19 she was still in the corps de ballet. At 26, she is on the verge of superstar status. So what next for Darcey Bussell, asks **Judith Mackrell**

BRITISH sportsmen and women limp around the world's playing fields, considering themselves heroes if they win a single match; our home-grown ballerina, Darcey Bussell, has just been batting like a champion.

In June, when she guested with New York City Ballet, she not only danced the socks off that revered company (in their own Balanchine repertoire which the British aren't meant to be able to dance), she also had the New York balletomanes on their feet, and their notoriously partisan critics showering her with accolades. It's an open secret that NYCB's director, Peter Martins, would love to steal her away.

A year earlier, Bussell was also receiving standing ovations in Washington when she led the Royal Ballet in their new production of Sleeping Beauty. On this even more daunting occasion she was dancing a role that the Americans, as well as the English, still religiously associate with the legendary Fonteyn — and she was dancing it in front of the Clintons and the world press.

But Bussell has got rather used to hitting the headlines. At the age of 19, like a true Ballet Annual heroine, she was plucked from the corps de ballet to create the lead in Kenneth MacMillan's major new ballet Prince Of The Pagodas (a role senior ballerinas would have killed for). A year later, when the Bolshoi star Irek Mukhamedov defected to the Royal Ballet it was with Bussell that he made his first public appearance (dancing another new MacMillan work Winter Dreams).

Still as a fledgling she shared the stage with some of the world's starriest ballerinas, memorably relishing in La Bayadere the climax when she had to shake Sylvie Guillem by the scruff of the neck. Now, at 26, she has blazed a trail through almost every major role in the repertoire. Until now, the only significant gap was Giselle — and she has just made her Royal Ballet debut in that.

In a profession that is littered with unfulfilled promise, injured bodies and damaged psyches, how has Bussell managed to stride so swiftly and surely to the top? Genetically, of course, she has the flukey advantage of long, strong legs, powerfully-arched feet, supple back and the kind of dark, lovely features that read eloquently from the stage. Technically, she also possesses a magnificent armoury. Her jump is huge, her balances bold, her fabulously high extensions produce dancing on a grand scale.

But she is far more than a gymnast. Her strength and musicality allow her to shape single steps into vivid, articulate phrases — she has a gut instinct for light and shade, for metaphor and drama. In Swan Lake she can make a slow unfolding of the leg look like a poignant sigh or an erotic tease. In Romeo And Juliet she is a startled deer, looking for cover in a terrifyingly grown-up world. In Agon she is simply lethal, taunting and caressing her partner with her implacable limbs. In Ballet Imperial she creates light and air within the brilliant artifice of the steps.

Of course, though, Bussell isn't all fairy-tale perfection. At times she can be slow to get her long legs around tiny fast steps while a slight stiffness in her shoulders can blunt the long fluid line of her body. Nor is she all things to all ballets. She doesn't possess Guillem's acerbic wit in comedy roles for instance.

But she has huge reserves of common sense and discipline that keep her battling against her limitations and provide ballast at moments of crisis. She is prone to stage fright, the worst hitting her just before she went on stage for the Washington gala performance of Beauty. She simply didn't want to do it. "It's never happened to me like that before. But I was waiting to come down the stairs for my first entrance — hanging off some bars with a 10-foot drop behind me — and I looked down at the other dancers and I started thinking, 'If I just fell backwards, I wouldn't have to go on'."

But day to day she is adroit at guarding herself against the neuroses endemic to her profession.



ILLUSTRATION: PETER CLARKE

While Bussell admits she is addicted to the physical demands of ballet — "all you want to do is work on your body, have a perfect machine" — she has always been at pains to distance herself from the image of the fanatical anorexic.

SHE MAINTAINS a cheerful, ruthless secrecy about her private life and there have been no stories of in-house romances, only the occasional mention of a boyfriend who works for a merchant bank.

But the point about Bussell is that you never do hear a whisper about tantrums or spoilt princesses. When she was just getting famous she used to make a big thing of her ordinariness — she sent herself up, giggled a lot and cracked jokes.

Certainly there was nothing either exotic or traumatic about her comfortable, middle-class upbringing in Notting Hill, where her father was a dentist and her mother — who had briefly been a dancer and an actress — looked after the family. Nor was there anything extreme or devotional about her early attitude to dance. Unlike Anna Pavlova, who saw her first ballet aged eight and then dedicated herself to dance, Bussell attended Saturday ballet classes only because that was what her mates did. And though she went to stage school at 11 there was no sudden revelation of talent; in fact Bussell claims her teachers "didn't really like" her.

At 13 she auditioned for the Royal Ballet school from a vague sense that, if she "trained seriously at one thing", she might "get somewhere". And it was only after a year of "hell and hard work" that she suddenly found she was getting somewhere very important indeed.

These days Bussell has shed the ornery kid image. She is now a serious star, and she can turn on all the glamour and mystique required by famous ballerinas.

But she doesn't keep her distance. She still snorts when she laughs, she's extremely eager to please, has a very unguarded way of speaking and doesn't throw her ego around. The only way to describe her is still, extraordinarily, nice.

But Bussell is neither simple nor bland. On a South Bank Show a few years ago she said that when she was younger she had thought ballet "was all pretty costumes and pretty shoes. But when you get older it's more grit and guts and stuff, much more of a passion." And that is what she is like on stage — incredibly passionate and incredibly hungry.

The sheer length and strength of her makes her look as if she's devouring space. There is also a recklessness with which she attacks physical challenge, a peculiar candid directness with which she gazes at the audience and an almost erotic excitement with which she tackles new roles.

Those puzzled by the disparity between Bussell's on-stage drama and off-stage equanimity might feel that her sunny disposition and privileged life offer little raw material for tragic roles.

But her career has given her real pain. Last year she spent more than six months off stage nursing a stress injury — which meant missing critical performances at a crucial time of her career. Bussell, typically, found something positive to say even about this frustrating and depressing period, claiming it had taught her to focus on technique and performance skills. On her return she had clearly grown up in some way. Dancing Swan Lake, there was a new stillness and darkness at the core of her dancing that elevated it from brilliance to greatness.

Over the next few years Bussell should be at her peak — she will still have the suppleness and stamina of a young dancer but she will be adding an increasingly sophisticated grasp of her art. She will no longer have to prove herself, even though she will have to look over her shoulder at competition from the next generation.

Interestingly, the obedient young woman who used to comply with whatever the Royal asked is also beginning to test her power. She has indicated that she would like more control over her career (what she dances and with whom) and greater freedom to guest abroad. Nice as she is, Bussell can now afford to throw her weight around a little. She is on track to super-ballerina status.

Little England all at sea on HMS Brilliant

TELEVISION
Nancy Banks-Smith

HMS BRILLIANT (BBC1), a six-part documentary produced by Christopher Terrill, is quite suspiciously good for high summer and has probably fallen off the back of a lorry.

As Leading Seaman Micky Goble put it: "Sometimes I think this ship is like a little bit of England floating round the oceans of the world. We like our tea and toast in the morning. All the little traditions. On board a ship you get everyone. Village idiots, mad scientists, mess-deck lawyers; high-class toffs and then a few bog common dregs to make up the numbers . . . like the Royal Marines. All thrown together in one tiny tin and left there to stew for six months."

Oh, and a few women.

This England is pickled in brine or, as Shakespeare preferred, set in a silver sea. Salt has preserved the class system almost perfectly. Captain Rapp, a cool commander, eats alone to preserve the mystique. "You need to stand apart. They expect to look up to you and, if you try to live a similar life to them, it's more difficult."

Officers eat apart from the crew. Petty Officer Tony Lilley, who serves their meals, said: "They are officers and they've got O-levels. I am here. This is all I can do. I've got to be mature about it. I can't be an officer and that's the end of it really."

Captain Rapp's tour of inspection, a nerve-racking affair ("Bit of gunge here!"), was much enlivened by the insubordination of 'Arry the parrot ("Bollocks!"). 'Arry, being mechanical, only repeated what was said to him but somehow in a disconcertingly offensive manner. He reminded you very much of Dennis Skinner, the stroppy MP for Bolsover.

Television is no respecter of rank. The camera zooms in on warmth like a heat-seeking missile. It cannot help itself. So the star turn of this episode is not the captain but Goble, a television natural.

Despite energetic efforts in the gym ("If we have to abandon ship, I'll be the first bastard off"), he is constructed entirely of circles.

After a tour of duty in the Adriatic, enforcing the arms embargo, Brilliant docked at Crete for shore leave.

Goble was on sentry duty on the flight deck whence all but he had fled. He beguiled the night by putting his head inside one of the condoms on offer to the crew and blowing it up. "I'm in charge of security at the moment," he said from inside this balloon. "I want you to take it very seriously." His cap on top of the balloon rose slowly, almost gravely, in the air. *Children, do not try this at home.*

The walking wounded straggled back to his running commentary. "We've had a good one tonight already." He consulted an incident log of formidable proportions. "Apparently WEM Carfew sat on a wall where a metal spike shot up his bum and he returned on board, bleeding profusely."

Marines reeled back wearing ladies underwear: "Commandos. Feared killing machines. That one's let his make-up run."

The Wobbly Man swayed home. Steve Whittier, the biggest man on board, carried an apparently filleted friend back over his shoulder. "He's all right," said Whittier. "We'll look after him." It seemed a justification of the whole system.

"Hopefully, that'll be me tomorrow night," said Goble. It was. "What you have behind you is the ship celebrity," said a ship mate drily, "who's slightly hanging out a bit after a heavy run-ashore night." The ship celebrity, pink and curled as a giant prawn, lay snoring on the floor after a hard night's partying in the Nemesis Bar.

A small figure, dangling like a doll on the end of a rope, dropped into this little bit of England. A visiting admiral, Sir Michael Layard, Second Sea Lord, has special responsibility for sailors, whom he met in a friendly fashion.

Afterwards Goble looked stricken as only a fat man can, like a disappointed baby.

He said: "Being a matelot is a job I enjoy. I'm proud to do the job that I do but I don't think I'll be doing it much longer. Talking to the Second Sea Lord today — and he's the man in the know — he gave me advice that it might be better looking for another job.

"They're trying to combine two branches into one. The new lean manning of ships. I just can't understand why. I suppose it's happening to firms all over the country."

It is and it's not the bit of England we love. Goble is not built for lean manning.

Rembrandt works being eaten away by ink the artist used

Christine Aziz

A PRICELESS collection of Rembrandt sketches in the Netherlands is being destroyed by the ink the artist used.

More than 450 of Rembrandt's 17th century sketches are affected, including a famous portrait of his wife, Saskia, leaning out of a window. A further 10,000 ink drawings by mainly Dutch, Italian and French artists of the same period in Amsterdam's Rijks Museum, the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam and the Maritshuis Museum in The Hague are known to be affected. They include a valuable collection of sketches by the early 18th century French artist Claude Lorrain and manuscripts and portraits by German artist Albrecht Dürer.

Along with a number of artists of the early 17th century and later, Rembrandt favoured iron gall ink for his pen drawings. They liked the ink's rich brown colour and ease of application. Produced from a mixture of iron sulphate and oak apple juice, artists often added urine and alcohol to improve its texture. Over the centuries acid and oxidised ink have eaten into the paper.

Louis Damen, head of conservation at the Boymans Museum, has applied for $2.4 million from the European Community's Raphael Fund, set up last year to help preserve Europe's cultural heritage following difficulties in finding funding in the Netherlands. "Restoration is not a priority," he said. "It doesn't pull in the tourists."

The money will be used to find a treatment to halt the process of oxidisation. A further $8 million will be required to restore the damaged sketches.

An effective solution has so far eluded Europe's art conservationists. The Dutch Central Laboratory for Research of Objects of Art, which is leading the research in this field, is optimistic that a suitable treatment will be found within two years.

The problem has been worsened by earlier restoration attempts. From as early as the 18th century, efforts were being made to salvage the works by applying rye porridge and glued paper.

The affected sketches, including several collections of ink-drawn manuscripts and maps, are stored in acid-free, temperature-controlled vaults.

"It's difficult to gauge the size of the problem as damaged ink sketches are turning up all the time," said Mr Damen. "Some are so bad they can't even be moved."

He says 30 per cent of all similar collections throughout Europe are suffering from varying degrees of ink damage. "An important part of Europe's cultural heritage is about to disappear if we don't act fast. It's like an epidemic."

Endangered sketches: Abraham, Hagar And Ismael (above); Study Of A Syndic (left)

Angels with dirty faces

THEATRE
Michael Billington

JEZ BUTTERWORTH'S Mojo marks the most dazzling main-stage debut in years at London's Royal Court. The fast-paced dialogue and the 1958 Soho gangland setting constantly suggest an Anglicised American Buffalo: a world in which little men talk big and dirty to disguise their panic and paranoia.

Butterworth takes time to reveal his plot, which turns out to be a mythic power battle among the denizens of Dean Street. We are in a tacky club whose hot property — a 17-year-old rock 'n' roll star called Silver Johnny — has been hijacked by a south-London mobster: a point brought home to the club's fear-filled operators when they find its owner chopped up and deposited in two dustbins outside the back door. Under the supervision of their natural leader, Mickey, they barricade themselves in the club for the weekend; only to find, when one of their number stages a daring rescue of Silver Johnny, that all is not what it seems.

Echoes abound: not only Mamet but Cagney gangster movies and even the recent work of Tarantino. But Butterworth is playing a subtle double game. On the one hand, he himself is influenced by the mythic structures of American movies. On the other, he ironically punctures the way small-time Soho drifters, even in the 1950s, modelled themselves on transatlantic icons: they live in Macmillan's drab England but they aspire to Mitchum and Mature.

Butterworth's ability to write scintillating dialogue may, at the moment, outstrip anything he has to say. But he understands perfectly how language can be used to camouflage fear or boost ego.

It is not, I guess, intended as a real portrait of Soho in the fifties: it's more Pulp Fiction than Espresso Bongo. But Butterworth's nightmare vision is beautifully articulated in Ian Rickson's hectic production and the ensemble-playing is first-rate.

At 26, Butterworth already knows how to rhythm a play, write cracking dialogue and build tension: I just pray that the movies and cop series don't bag him before he goes on to develop as a dramatist.

The Theatre Royal Haymarket may not sound the likeliest address for a play about gays in the US navy. But D M W Greer's **Burning Blue** is actually a very good, sharply written liberal drama which attacks the modern McCarthyism that hounds service personnel because of their sexuality.




Hans Metheson as Silver Johnny in Mojo PHOTOGRAPH: HENRIETTA BUTLER

Greer focuses on four trainee test pilots aboard an American aircraft carrier. They enjoy a close friendship which comes under merciless scrutiny when a naval investigator discovers that two of them — Lynch and Blackwood — have been seen dancing together in a gay disco.

The special agent's tactics are eerily reminiscent of those used in the anti-communist witch hunts of the 1950s. He asks the men's naval colleagues to testify against their friends. He pretends that confessions have been made. And he pursues Lynch, in particular, who is the son of the commander-in-chief of the Pacific Fleet, with a rabid, purblind, hysterical intensity.

Greer's chief point, admirably made, is that the US military is under threat not from gay personnel but from the kind of divisions encouraged by prurient investigators. We see how the friendship between Lynch and a fellow-lieutenant, Will Stephensen, is destroyed by the accusations and by the inference that everyone is involved in sexual conspiracy. Trust, loyalty and even the effectiveness of the unit are eroded by authority's obsession with private lives and dubious methods.

Based on fact, the play makes a direct appeal to the liberal conscience, tells a gripping story in swift, short scenes and is written with a good deal of lightness and wit. At one point the investigator asks a junior lieutenant just why he spent 10 minutes in a gay disco. "The music's better," he crisply replies, "and the people are generally more fun."

The play's one tactical error is to load the dice too heavily against the special agent. It's quite sufficient to suggest that he is sexually paranoid, ignorant of marriage and homophobic. But to imply that, as the son of an enlisted man, he is also motivated by class-hatred is to stack the odds too heavily. If you're writing a play intended to sway hearts and minds, it's always as well to give some credibility to the opposition.

That said, it's a refreshingly intelligent play that asks why people should forfeit their rights simply because they joined the armed services.

The struggle between spirit and obedience

Natasha Walter

The Letters of Charlotte Brontë. Vol 1, 1829-1847 edited by Margaret Smith Oxford University Press 627pp £55

THE LIVES of great writers tend to warp under the pressure that final success brings to bear on the past. And that is particularly true of the Brontës. Their biographies cannot escape from ready-made images of harsh schools, wild moors, lonely governesses and thwarted love. In them, Emily is always more than a little like Cathy, and Charlotte more than a little like Jane, and the sisters' tentative steps through life as they search for their voices and their subjects cannot be recreated.

But as we walk the corridors of The Letters Of Charlotte Brontë we can share Charlotte's own faltering steps. This is the terrifying look of life seen from the inside, as we are confronted by the inability of Charlotte Brontë, the bored, lonely, poverty-stricken victim of 19th century bourgeois mores, to realise that she was Charlotte Brontë, the self-sufficient writer who fused grand passion with a quiet vernacular.

The cries of this young woman, who could not know what she would do, rise up, biting to the heart: "I shall soon be 30 and I have done nothing yet — " she writes as she is about to embark on Jane Eyre. And even after it is published: "There are moments when I can hardly credit that anything I have done should be found worthy to give even transitory pleasure to such men as Mr Thackeray." Against that was the cool certainty of the true author, as the inexperienced Yorkshire woman resisted the pressures her publishers put on her to rewrite the novel: "My engagements will not permit me to revise Jane Eyre," she wrote haughtily.

To the dancing shifts of the letters, Margaret Smith, an exemplary editor, provides all the biographical grounding you could want. There is hardly a reference she does not explain, hardly a fictional echo she does not pick up. "Cf Villette ch 6", she writes nonchalantly, "cf Shirley ch 23".

But what is not said bears heavily on this volume, which takes us up to 1847 and the publication of Jane Eyre. Apart from the fact that so many letters were destroyed or lost or censored, there is a world going on underneath them, in which Charlotte was writing her chronicles of Angria, composing poems and sketches and, finally, novels.

Because she kept that world completely hidden from her main correspondent, her school friend Ellen Nussey, we become keenly aware of the disjunction between her social and inner life.

Even if much of Charlotte's heart is left out of these letters, what we find instead is a lucid development of style and tone. The almost-invisible governess with her biting tongue, her solitude and her anger begins to express herself in barbs directed at her employers and pupils: "I will only ask you to imagine the miseries of a reserved wretch like me — thrown at once into the midst of a large family — proud as peacocks and wealthy as Jews," she writes to Ellen Nussey from her first situation.

It is a little miracle that out of all the letters that were burnt, sold, cut up, destroyed, Charlotte's letters to Monsieur Heger, her beloved Belgian teacher, survived. He tore them into pieces and threw them away, but his wife picked them out of the bin and sewed them together again. When he was dying, his daughter, who had been entrusted with them by her mother, showed them to him. He threw them away again, and she picked them up again. And here they are, published now in both French and English.

Charlotte associated French with Heger. The linguistic freedom of the foreign language allowed a woman who had been forced elsewhere into a straitjacket of English respectability to burst forth.

As long as the letters are in front of us, we can free ourselves from biographical speculation — as to whether Charlotte felt sexual desire for her "maître" and what she really expected from him. We are able to respond directly in the only way that really makes sense, as though they are literature, complete in themselves, rich in their ambiguity, lyrical in their language, poignant in their emotions. "Day and night I find neither rest nor peace — I do not seek to justify myself, I submit to all kinds of reproaches — all I know — is that I cannot that I will not resign myself to the total loss of my master's friendship — I would rather undergo the greatest bodily pains than have my heart constantly lacerated by searing regrets." That inflammable mixture of impatient passion and dignified endurance was the potion she poured into Jane Eyre and Villette; here we see it being stirred for the first time.



Charlotte Brontë's mix of 'impatient passion and dignified endurance'

Dire necessity to write

OBITUARY

Elleston Trevor

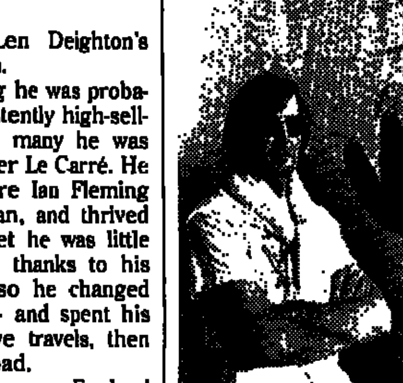
ELLESTON TREVOR, whose output as a writer ranged back from The Quiller Memorandum, written under the pseudonym Adam Hall, to The Flight Of The Phoenix to the Hugo Bishop detective novels of the 1950s, has died of cancer aged 75. Five years ago, he said: "My mind teems with ideas. When I finally drop dead at the typewriter I shall leave 15 bulging envelopes of them — which will be a fortune to any writer who can't think of plots." His unwritten plotlines alone would have given most authors an abundant career.

Trevor was not only one of the great professional storytellers of the post-war generation but the most sustained and long-lasting of them all. His Quiller novels alone were as valid a counterpoint to the James Bond genre as Len Deighton's Harry Palmer books.

After Ian Fleming he was probably the most consistently high-selling spy writer. By many he was seen as the best after Le Carré. He began writing before Ian Fleming and Alistair Maclean, and thrived long after them. Yet he was little known publicly — thanks to his deep reticence. Also he changed publishers often — and spent his money on extensive travels, then actually settled abroad.

He was in flight from an England which gave him an abominable home and public school childhood. He must have been Sevenoaks School's bitterest and most devastatingly critical old boy. Overseas also suited him. As the years went by in his small but superbly appointed writer's villa outside Phoenix, Arizona, he remained a lithe, physically and mentally active man who looked nearly half his age, and could do the most demanding of yoga exercises.

Although his home was respectably stockbroker Tudor, his parents were actually alcoholic. "I was born in Bromley. My parents loved me very much and disliked each other very much, so I had a miserable childhood. They never got on for my entire life so I was always waiting for something to blow up. I went to prep school and public school, where I got beaten soundly every Monday morning for bad Latin. I had no refuge, you see. And I think this must have inspired me to write because I used to disappear into empty water butts round the house, where I couldn't be found. I'd curl up with some trashy kid's book just to be out of the way.



'My mind teems with ideas'

"There was nowhere for me to go. If I went to school there was trouble there, if I went home there was trouble there. So who knows, it may not be simplistic to say that all my life I have been inventing stories in which I can live. My father was an extrovert stockbroker who womanised. He drank at all the clubs and smashed all his cars up. He was a noisy drunk. My mother was more secret. Being a woman, it was much more shaming for a woman to be like that. Looking back I could be heartbroken for them both. At the time I just wished they'd stop."

He left school unqualified, worked briefly as an apprentice racing engineer and began writing as a wartime ground engineer with the RAF. "I slipped into writing like warm water. It's a dire necessity for me. I've got to tell stories. It scintillates and shimmers in front of me, the whole idea of telling stories."

There were rich pickings after the war for obsessive story tellers with a popular touch. Trevor's début, A Chorus Of Echoes (1950), was an immediate book of the month choice. The Big Pick-Up was the first of his stories to be filmed. "I'd never been a soldier, never been to Dunkirk and it became the definitive novel of Dunkirk."

But his most durable work, alongside Bury Him Among Kings, was the Quiller series about the dirty, sweaty, terrified, non-commissioned officer side of espionage drawing on the insecurities of his childhood.

John Ezard

Elleston Trevor, author, born February 17, 1920; died July 21, 1995

Children's Books

Joanna Carey

The Snake-Stone, by Berlie Doherty (Hamish Hamilton, £10.99, age 11+)

BERLIE DOHERTY writes both for adults and children, moving easily across the divide. In her latest story, a 15-year-old boy, adopted as a baby, sets off in secret on a journey to learn the truth about his origins. The truth is shocking, as is this book — and gloriously life-affirming. As he travels, James's easy and disarmingly frank narrative is paralleled on the page with another voice — that of his natural mother. Structurally inventive, full of echo and metaphor, this beautifully paced story has the feel of a thriller as the two narrative threads entwine.

Hill of Darkness, by Jan Michael, (Faber, £9.99, age 10+)

THE THIN line between freedom and neglect is delicately blurred in this story about a British family in the Seychelles. Amongst tropical abundance and cultural diversity Julia and her imaginative run wild. She is fascinated by local stories of the legendary greegree man, and forced, at school, to observe the mysterious rituals of the Catholic Church. Jan Michael has a sharp eye for eccentric detail and though the plot meanders a bit, this atmospheric, unusual novel, with its shades of Jean Rhys, subtly evokes the primitive logic of childhood.

Growing-Up Stories, chosen by Betsy Byars (Kingfisher, £10.99, age 10+)

ROBERT GEARY'S line drawings, in the best tradition of black-and-white illustration, conjure up all the gaiety, gravity, mystery, humour and romance in these tales by writers as various and far flung as Katherine Mansfield, Sue Townsend, John Steinbeck, Graham Greene and Betsy Byars herself. With such diversity, thoughtful juxtapositions strike unexpected chords. Excellent value, great for reading out loud.

The Wreck of the Zanzibar, by Michael Morpurgo, illus Christian Birmingham (Heinemann, £9.99, age 8+)

A TINY island in the Scillies makes a perfect theatre for a dramatic tale. It's 1907 and Laura complains bitterly that she's allowed none of the freedom of her twin brother, Billy. When Billy runs away to sea she is desolate. Then, when a ship is wrecked on the rocks, it yields up more loot than the islanders could have imagined — timber, corn, brandy galore, even silk (a lovely touch here as six cows come sploshing out of the sea). Gentle, atmospheric drawings provide a wealth of period detail.

Back to the alternative future

Martin Walker

1945 by Newt Gingrich and William R Forstchen Baen Books 382pp $24

NEWT GINGRICH'S political tract To Renew America rose to the top of the bestseller lists last month, boosted by a proudly maternal review from Margaret Thatcher in the Wall Street Journal. But this inspirational sermon on the glorious past and hi-tech future of American conservatism and its traditional values gives few insights into the new hero of the resurgent right.

For these we turn to Newt's other new book, 1945, a science-fiction work of alternative history, in which *Adolf Hitler is incapacitated by a plane crash on the day before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Goering, Goebbels and General Halder, the German army chief of staff, temporarily take charge. They do not declare war on the US, and they pull back the frozen Wehrmacht from the gates of Moscow.*

While the US aircraft carriers slowly but surely defeat Japan, helping Chiang Kai-Shek to crush Mao's Communist guerillas in China, the Nazis regroup, renew the attack on Soviet Russia and conquer everything up to the Volga river.

Then they stop, and sign an armistice with Britain before the RAF night raids get too troublesome. Britain keeps almost all its empire, except the pre-first world war colonies of Tanganyika and Namibia.

An armistice with Stalin grants him Moscow, but all the rest of European Russia, from the Baltic Sea to the crucial oilfields of Baku, fall into German hands. Hitler recovers, to find he dominates the continent, while his scientists have created armadas of new jet fighters, and bombers and rockets that will carry the new German atom bomb as far as New York.

The only problem is that the American atom bomb programme is about a year nearer completion. While General *Rommel plans a new invasion of Britain, where Churchill has just been returned to power in a general election, Hitler's top commando leader Colonel Otto Skorzeny prepares a massive raid to destroy the Operation Manhattan facilities at Oak Ridge, Tennessee.*

The Germans are finally frustrated, not by the American forces, but by the local good ol' boys, the sheriffs and war veterans and civilian militias with their trusty rifles and old-fashioned sense of justice.

All rousing stuff, with a dutiful nod to the gun lobby, and a delicious spy who seduces the secrets from the US President's chief of staff. But she no longer sits "athwart his chest" and the *precise nature of her charms* and wiles are now veiled by a screen of family values. Violence, however, isn't. Richter, the Nazi sadist who has been executing American schoolgirls is found "lying there, his groin a red mass. He was still alive, but he wasn't having any fun."

Newt is already working on a new novel, this time with the sci-fi writer, Jerry Fournelle. The Faction will be about a new struggle which has familiar overtones — between a Japan armed with sinister Star Wars technology, and a weak American president stiffened by the tough new Opposition leader in Congress.



A funny sort of Thatcherism

Martin Kettle

The Lost Victory: British Dreams, British Realities 1945-1950 by Correlli Barnett Macmillan 514pp £20

WHEN A book is as extravagantly lauded by rightwing columnists as this one has been, then the natural and prudent reaction is to handle it with care. Yet Correlli Barnett's blunt and combative new study of the Attlee government, the latest in his sequence of books on British 20th century decline, is an almost irresistible indictment of post-war thinking and the wasted opportunities of Labour's too reverently recalled finest hour.

Careful readers will have noticed the key word "almost" in that paragraph. For Barnett is stimulating stuff as long as you don't inhale too deeply, too often.

His central thesis is that post-war Britain, gripped by romantic illusions about building the New Jerusalem and in the hands of a technically ill-trained liberal public-school élite, was congenitally unable to face the real tasks of planning and reconstruction that confronted it. Unwilling to admit the truth about British international and industrial decline and set upon constructing a costly and utopian welfare state which it could not afford, Labour funked the challenges facing the country, with consequences that persist to this day.

There is a lot in all of this, of course, but it is hardly the full story. A long and distinguished career as a military historian has given Barnett an exciting style of writing. Reading his work, you easily imagine him as a no-bullshit Pattonesque general confronting an audience of cautious politicians with a total-conviction presentation. Let me kick ass, Mr President, and we will be in Berlin/Moscow/Hanoi/Gorazde in time for sundowners on Tuesday. Accept my argument, readers of 20th century history, and everything will suddenly become utterly straightforward. But beware the broad brush. There is a peremptoriness about Barnett's style which is easy to enjoy but which almost — that word again — makes you forget to say "But ..."

The finest part of Barnett's argument, and the one which he presents most persuasively, is the abiding and overarching theme of much of his past and present writing. The fundamental failure of British policy-makers after 1945 — and indeed for most of the present century — is the unwillingness to accept or adjust to British imperial decline.

The advent of the 1945 Labour government changed nothing. Bevin, whom it is nowadays almost impossible to criticise, is here resurrected by Barnett as the biggest imperial blusterer of them all. Only Attlee emerges with any personal credit, as a sceptic when the service chiefs continued to prattle about the need to maintain influence in the Mediterranean or the Far East.

The descant to this failure is the alternate love and fear of the Americans. Britain thought it had won the war, but it had only won with the assistance of the Americans and with American money. The Germans and French, battered and humiliated, made no such errors, thus guaranteeing their own technologically modernised recoveries. Britain bumbled on, prisoner of the delusions of victory. Many Labour reputations emerge tattered from Barnett's fierce fire, but the indictment is more sweeping than that. The failure was national.

The chief fault of this book is simply that it does not seem to give due credit to the mood of the times. It is insensitive to historical truth to pretend that Britain in 1945 seriously had the option of following the grand Anglo-Gaullist politics and Erhardian economics that Barnett advocates.

The Britain so powerfully captured in the text and title of Peter Hennessy's Never Again gets short shrift here. The vision and pride with which the post-war welfare state, and in particular the NHS, was born and sustained forms little part of Barnett's fascinating but obsessive account.

All this is delivered with Barnett's customary panache and argumentative power. His faults and his obsessions, especially with the public-school élite, are part of his attraction. It must be the tone of iconoclastic certainty in Barnett's writing that seduces the right-wing scribblers to fawn over this book.

He is impatient with the arrogant failure to seize the European moment in 1950, and he fizzes with contempt against the British inability to plan and deploy the national economy for competitive renewal. If this is Thatcherite history, then it is a funny sort of Thatcherism.

Artful double talk

Jonathan Coe

The Black Book by Orhan Pamuk Faber 400pp £14.99

THE SLIPPERY, equivocal texture of Orhan Pamuk's second novel is a reflection both of its literary aesthetic and of the modern Istanbul where the story is set. This is a world in which "everything imitated everything else — where all the stories and the people were simultaneously themselves and their own imitations, and where all stories alluded to other stories". It would be possible, then, to describe the book in terms of plot (lawyer's wife disappears leaving a curt note, he searches for her), or theme (national and personal identity, loss of self, nostalgia, storytelling).

Comparisons with Eco's monumental Foucault's Pendulum are inevitable: both books immerse the reader in mad political conspiracy theories, labyrinthine accounts of underground sects and buried histories, in order to bring theories of modern linguistics to narrative life. Its concern with a reluctant investigator gradually shedding his own identity calls to mind Paul Auster's New York Trilogy. The plot device of a decent, bewildered man deserted without explanation, triggering a search which itself becomes an exercise in self-examination, was used by Tim Winton in The Riders.

In part, these comparisons simply point up an interesting overlap between a whole sequence of recent novels, from very different cultures; but also, paradoxically, they alert us to what is most original in Pamuk's work: the note of sly, generous, rueful humanity which makes The Black Book so consistently engaging.

How much of this is an intrinsically Turkish quality, and how much a product of Pamuk's own distinctive authorial voice, is difficult to say. Certainly we get a strong sense of the city as Pamuk's appealing young hero, Galip, plods randomly through the snowswept, nocturnal streets of Istanbul, searching for his wife Ruya and — more assiduously — her half-brother Jelal, one of the country's most famous political columnists. His writing is full of sympathy for families crammed into monolithic, impersonal apartment buildings. And he's good on the small comedies of family life, awkward domestic suppers, ageing aunts and uncles caught up in the rituals of a lifetime.

All of this adds a profound social and human dimension to a novel which might otherwise run the risk of *confining itself too rigorously to* the world of ideas. The structure is rigid and schematic, with chapters describing Galip's search alternating with examples of Jelal's learned, wide-ranging columns. These columns form the scholarly backbone of the book, and gradually cohere into a massive disquisition on folklore, Islam and recent Turkish political history, so that a parallel emerges between Galip's personality crisis and the struggle of an entire culture to maintain a sense of identity.

Whodunnit fans seeking tidy solutions should take heed of an early sentence in which Galip suggests that "the only detective novel worth reading would be one in which the writer himself didn't know the identity of the murderer". The whole temperament of the novel is resistant to closure, but the final pages do have the affecting stamp of emotional rightness.

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Cricket Fourth Cornhill Test England v West Indies

Cork seals victory with a hat-trick

Mike Selvey at Old Trafford

THE capacity this summer for these sides to lurch drunkenly between the twin impostors of triumph and disaster remained undiminished here on Sunday as England won this Test by six wickets shortly before six o'clock to level the series at two matches each with Nottingham and The Oval to come.

The lead has alternated violently so far, and this time it was England's turn. There was a price to pay, however: a day that had started in the most dramatic fashion with a hat-trick for the irrepressible Dominic Cork in the first over and continued with a century of the highest calibre from Brian Lara was marred by a shocking injury to Robin Smith which left England's innings in disarray as they chased the 94 runs they needed for victory.

Smith was struck beneath his left eye as a short ball deflected into his face off his bat during another ferocious spell from Ian Bishop. After attention on the field he was led away by the England physiotherapist Dave Roberts and taken to hospital. An X-ray revealed a depressed fracture of the cheekbone. He will miss the remainder of the series.

"Robin was very groggy," said the England chairman Ray Illingworth. "He stayed in the dressing room for a while in case he needed to bat again but in the end the doctor said he should go to hospital."

At the time of the accident England were reeling at 47 for three, having lost the wickets of Mike Atherton, run out by the closest of video margins for 22 after an opening stand of 39, Nick Knight caught at second slip for 13 and Graham Thorpe hooking down long-leg's throat without scoring, all for the addition of six runs.

Smith's injury effectively was a fourth wicket, and another, that of Craig White, followed one run later to raise the spectre of Trinidad and all that that implied. With West Indies getting the scent, England were dipping their toes in the water of disaster and the dressing room, said Atherton, was "a little bit tense".

But they did not crumble. In fact, not another wicket fell as John Crawley settled in and Jack Russell scrapped and scampered, the pair adding 46 for the fifth wicket. Crawley, who had been given a life before he had scored when a catch to second slip was adjudged not to have carried, hit the winning runs to finish unbeaten on 15, while Russell, mixing careful defence with five flamboyant boundaries, made 31.

Earlier, West Indies had taken their overnight score of 159 for three to 314, thanks almost entirely to Lara who, after four hours 20 minutes, was finally ninth out for 145, only the fifth hundred of his Test career and his first for nine matches. Already, with half-centuries at Headingley and Lord's, there had been signs that the drought might be ending and in this match he batted superbly, contributing, with 87 in the first innings, 232 of the 502 runs West Indies scored off the bat.

His hundred, however, looked a pipe-dream when the first over of the day seemed to have set the seal on the game. Lara and Richardson, having added 61 for the fourth wicket on Saturday, had barely got the scoreboard moving again when Cork struck with his fourth, fifth and sixth balls of the day.

Only the previous evening, when the two batsmen were digging in, Cork confessed to being caught up in the atmosphere of the game and bowling too short. But, if there was an element of good fortune in his first wicket — Richardson, in letting a wide ball go, deflected it from his pad on to his up-raised bat and thence the stumps — there was no doubt about the straightness or good length of the deliveries that caught Murray and Hooper, batting with a fractured right index finger, in front.

As Cyril Mitchley's index finger was raised for the second time Cork sank to his knees, arms upraised, to be mobbed by his team-mates. It was the first hat-trick by an English bowler in a Test since Peter Loader ripped out Goddard, Ramadhin and Gilchrist at Headingley 38 years ago.

Cork, without a smidgeon of doubt, has what it takes; things have a habit of happening for him and, if they do not, he has the priceless ability — as Botham did — of making them. His four wickets on Sunday, and eight in the match, bring his total in three matches to 20 — some start to a Test career.

And anyone who can get away with treading on his stumps before scoring, replacing the bail after sprinting four runs and then going on to make an unbeaten half-century, all of which happened to Cork on Saturday, has the force with him. Bob Taylor had no doubt in awarding him his second Man-of-the-Match award. The hat-trick might have finished West Indies but instead Lara found support from the bowlers, farming the strike and unleashing a series of superb strokes against spinners and seamers alike, so that the last four wickets yielded 153 runs, virtually doubling the total.

Lara might have taken West Indies to a total that would have made England really sweat. Instead Angus Fraser, armed with the second new ball, got the left-hander playing his swivel-pull and Knight, moving in swiftly from deep square leg, made a low catch look easy.



Magic spell . . . Cork is congratulated by England colleagues for his dramatic deed
PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL STEELE

ENGLAND'S EIGHT TEST HAT-TRICKS
Billy Bates (v Australia, Melbourne 1883)
Johnny Briggs (v Australia, Sydney 1892)
George Lohmann (v SA, Port Elizabeth 1896)
Jack Hearne (v Australia, Leeds 1899)
Maurice Allom (v NZ, Christchurch 1930)
Tom Goddard (v SA, Johannesburg 1938)
Peter Loader (v W Indies, Leeds 1957)
Dominic Cork (v W Indies, Manchester 1995)

Scoreboard

WEST INDIES
First Innings

C L Hooper c Crawley b Cork	16
S L Campbell c Russell b Fraser	10
B C Lara lbw b Cork	87
J C Adams c Knight b Fraser	24
*R B Richardson c Thorpe b Fraser	2
K L T Arthurton c Cork b Watkinson	17
†J R Murray c Emburey b Watkinson	13
I R Bishop c Russell b Cork	9
C E L Ambrose not out	7
K C G Benjamin b Cork	14
C A Walsh c Knight b Fraser	11
Extras (lb1, nb5)	6
Total (60.2 overs)	216

Fall of wickets: 21, 35, 86, 94, 150, 166, 184, 185, 205.
Bowling: Fraser 16.2-5-45-4; Cork 20-1-86-4; White 5-0-23-0; Emburey 10-2-33-0; Watkinson 9-2-28-2.

ENGLAND
First Innings

N V Knight b Walsh	17
*M A Atherton c Murray b Ambrose	47
J P Crawley b Walsh	8
G P Thorpe c Murray b Bishop	94
R A Smith c sub b Ambrose	44
C White c Murray b Benjamin	23
†R C Russell run out	35
M Watkinson c sub b Walsh	37
D G Cork not out	56
J E Emburey b Bishop	8
A R C Fraser c Adams b Walsh	4
Extras (b18, lb11, w1, nb34)	64
Total (136 overs)	437

Fall of wickets: 45, 65, 122, 226, 264, 293, 337, 378, 418.
Bowling: Ambrose 24-2-91-2; Walsh 38-5-92-4; Bishop 29-3-103-2; Benjamin 28-4-8[3]-1; Adams 8-1-21-0; Arthurton 9-2-18-0.

WEST INDIES
Second Innings

S L Campbell c Russell b Watkinson	44
K L T Arthurton run out	17
B C Lara c Knight b Fraser	145
J C Adams c & b Watkinson	1
*R B Richardson b Cork	22
†J R Murray lbw b Cork	0
C L Hooper lbw b Cork	0
I R Bishop c Crawley b Watkinson	9
K C G Benjamin c Knight b Fraser	15
C E L Ambrose not out	23
C A Walsh b Cork	16
Extras (b5, lb9, nb8)	22
Total (91.5 overs)	314

Fall of wickets: 36, 93, 97, 161, 161, 161, 191, 234, 283.
Bowling: Fraser 19-5-53-2; Cork 23 5-2-111-4; Emburey 20-5-49-0; White 6-0-23-0; Watkinson 23-4-64-3.

ENGLAND
Second Innings

N V Knight c sub b Bishop	13
*M A Atherton run out	22
J P Crawley not out	11 [15?]
G P Thorpe c Ambrose b Benjamin	0
R A Smith retd hurt	1
C White c sub b Benjamin	1
†R C Russell not out	31
Extras (lb2, w1, nb8)	11
Total (for 4, 35.5 overs)	94

Fall of wickets: 39, 41, 45, 48.
Bowling: Ambrose 5-1-16-0; Walsh 5-0-17-0; Bishop 12-6-18-1; Benjamin 9-1-29-2; Arthurton 2.5-1-5-0; Adams 2-0-7-0.
England won by six wickets.

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Christie tests defended

THE British Athletic Federation launched a vigorous defence of its campaign against drug-taking in sport amid criticism in a television documentary of out-of-competition testing involving Linford Christie.

Tony Ward, its spokesman, said the federation's tests were the toughest in British sport and that Christie had been tested more than any other athlete — a total of 17 times last year.

He added: "We test more competitors than any other sport by a long way — and carry out more out-of-competition tests than the rest put together. For some reason that puts us in the firing line and we are getting fed up with it."

JONAH LOMU, England's tormentor in the Rugby World Cup in South Africa, was in rampant form as New Zealand beat Australia 34-23 in Sydney to retain the Bledisloe Cup. Lomu was a constant threat to the Australian defences with his pace and power and was involved in four of his team's five tries.

Frank Bunce claimed a try in each half and Andrew Mehrtens scored a try and kicked three goals. But Lomu was deservedly named Man of the Match as the All Blacks completed a 2-0 series win, having already beaten Australia 28-16 in the first Test in Auckland late last month.

CHRIS EUBANK, former WBO super-middleweight champion, completed his second successive first-round victory when he knocked out Spain's Jose Barruetabena in 55 seconds at Whitley Bay. In Bristol, Neil Swain of Wales retained his Commonwealth super-bantamweight title with a fifth-round defeat of Tony Falcone, while at Nagoya, Japan, Wayne McCullough of Belfast won the WBC bantamweight title with a points decision over Japan's Yasuei Yakushiji.

COLIN McRAE of Scotland kept alive his hopes of a first world rally drivers' championship when he completed his third straight victory in the Rally of New Zealand. The Subaru star went into the final seven stages with a 63-second lead and ended 44 seconds ahead of reigning world champion Didier Auriol of France. After five rounds of the championship, Auriol leads on 51 points and McRae is fourth on 40.

MONICA SELES, the former women's world No 1 tennis player, made a victorious return to the competitive game when she beat Martina Navratilova 6-3 6-2 in her comeback match in Atlantic City. Seles, who has been out of action since being stabbed by a fan in April 1993, produced some excellent winning shots in front of a packed court.



Seles: aiming to be No 1 again

IVAN PEDROSO took a giant leap for Cuba — 8.96 metres — and set a new world record for the long jump. He achieved the feat at an athletics meeting in the Italian Alpine resort of Sestriere, beating the previous mark of 8.95m set by American Mike Powell in Tokyo four years ago. The 22-year-old Pedroso said: "I'm sorry I did not jump nine metres but I'm sure one day I will."

THE American dominance over European golf continued when Scott Hoch won the Heineken Dutch Open at Hilversum. A last-round 65 for a 15-under-par 269 took the US Tour player to a two-shot victory over Sam Torrance and the Swedish newcomer Michael Jonzon. Hoch's triumph comes two weeks after John Daly won the Open championship at St Andrews.

TWO international soccer strikers are taking the high road to Scotland. German Andreas Thom is joining Celtic from Bayer Leverkusen of the Bundesliga. The Russian Oleg Salenko, who has been playing in the Spanish first division for Valencia, will be heading for the other half of the Old Firm, Rangers.

WIMBLEDON and Queens Park Rangers appeared before the Football Association to answer charges relating to their poor disciplinary records last season. Wimbledon collected more than [illegible] yellow cards and six reds, and QPR had four dismissals, including the fastest of the season, Clive Wilson after only eight minutes at Old Trafford. Their punishments will be announced at a later date.

ROWDYISM in sport used to be associated with soccer but now it seems cricket has also fallen victim to it. Extra police will be on duty at Glamorgan's NatWest Trophy quarter-final against Middlesex at Sophia Gardens in Cardiff. Club officials met after Warwickshire claimed that Glamorgan supporters had thrown bottles while they were fielding during their Sunday League match. The incident is also believed to have been reported to the Test and County Cricket Board.

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Motor Racing German Grand Prix

Harassed Hill crashes out of the reckoning

Alan Henry at Hockenheim

DAMON HILL'S world championship dreams suffered a crushing blow here when he spun off the road while leading on only the second lap of the German Grand Prix. Cracking under pressure at such a crucial moment in the season handed the race on a plate to his arch-rival Michael Schumacher, who went on to score a decisive 5.9sec victory over Hill's Williams team-mate, David Coulthard.

It was the first victory by a German driver in his home grand prix in world championship history and leaves Schumacher leading Hill by 21 points with seven of the season's 16 races left to run.

For Hill it was a nightmarish end to a weekend in which he had attracted further criticism for causing the British Grand Prix collision with Schumacher that eliminated them both from the race.

In front of 128,000 German fans Hill started from pole position in a race which promised an electrifying re-run of the ill-starred confrontation at Silverstone last month.

After a brilliant getaway Hill was leading Schumacher by almost two seconds as he crossed the timing line to begin the second lap. But, as he braked for the third-gear right-hander, the rear end of the Williams snapped out of line and the car went sailing backwards through the gravel trap and into the protective barrier.

Hill was unable to explain his sudden loss of control. "I'm very shocked about what happened because I was very comfortable in the car," he said.

"I went into the corner and the rear suddenly locked up and I went off. I don't have an explanation for it. It's possible that the track was slippery; I was pushing hard, trying to pull out an advantage, but I've been round that corner enough times this weekend to know whether I was within the limit of it. I'm completely gutted.

"I was not overdoing it. I came down into third gear and the back end went away from me." However, after the damaged Williams was retrieved at the end of the race, the team's chief designer Adrian Newey reported that there was no immediate sign of a technical malfunction.

After Hill's departure from the race Schumacher pulled steadily away from Coulthard, opening a five-second lead before making his first refuelling stop at the end of lap 19.

The Scot briefly went ahead before making a single stop on lap 23, after which Schumacher really pushed hard to allow himself the luxury of a tactically astute second stop on lap 34 without losing the lead.

"It's unbelievable, just a dream," said an elated Schumacher. "To be honest, I had thought about the first corner after the start. I knew that the first corner would be slippery because everybody drops some oil on the first lap, so I braked early.

"Damon made a big mistake. He should have known that there would be some deposits on the track at this point."

Coulthard was clearly disappointed by his inability to pick up the winning gauntlet after Hill had spun off. "I knew I would have to push very hard because we were only doing one stop," he said. "Perhaps I was a little more aware of getting to the finish rather than risking an off."

Third place fell to Gerhard Berger's Ferrari, the Austrian climbing from 14th place after being given a 10sec stop-go penalty for jumping the start, and Britain's Johnny Herbert survived a race of attrition to finish fourth. Fifth place went to Jean-Christophe Boullion's Sauber-Ford, ahead of the Ligier-Mugen driven by Aguri Suzuki.



Rough justice . . . Damon Hill spins off the track and on to the sand in the German Grand Prix at Hockenheim before colliding with the safety barrier and seeing his world championship hopes dented

Athletics

Two face testing time in Sweden

John Rodda in Gothenburg

THE integrity and honesty of British runner Diane Modahl are back under scrutiny — and so too are those of Primo Nebiolo, president of the International Amateur Athletic Federation.

Nebiolo threatened to return to Italy before Saturday's start of the world championships here unless the Swedish media stop asking awkward questions about his past.

An interview with Nebiolo for an hour-long Swedish TV programme due to be shown on Monday was cut short after only eight minutes. His female interviewer was brusquely shown out of the presidential suite when she raised the matter of a recent trial in Italy in which Nebiolo was acquitted of abuse of office.

Still simmering after the media row, Nebiolo said he did not feel welcome in Gothenburg, and he would leave the country at the end of this week's IAAF congress.

Meanwhile the IAAF is to ask its arbitration council to review the British Athletic Federation's appeal verdict which last week removed a four-year ban on Diane Modahl, the British 800 metres runner, on the grounds that degradation of the test sample increased the level of testosterone found in it.

This week's congress is likely to pass a proposal to cut the ban on athletes for steroid or similar drug abuse from four to two years.

Netball World Championship

A triumph of team work

Peter Nichols in Birmingham

THERE are few sports that so subject the skills of the individual to the needs of the team, so it was appropriate that the World Championship at the National Indoor Arena last weekend was won by a team and not an individual — Australia defeating South Africa 68-48.

South Africa were over-reliant on Irene van Dyk, the individual star of the tournament, and who could blame them? A well balanced athlete and unfailingly accurate under the net, she had produced against New Zealand the shock result of the two weeks. But Australia were a different proposition.

The Australian game, at its best, is a whirlwind of movement, and they generally eschew the looped pass; the ball in the air gives defences time to reorganise. In Jennifer Borlase and Nicole Cusack they had two skilful attackers; in Liz Ellis a defender not overawed by Van Dyk. And in mid-court they ruled the show. In the complete team game, they were the complete team.

New Zealand might have run them closer, and their slip-up against South Africa dashed England's bronze-medal hopes as the home side lost 60-31.

New Zealand's pace in the first quarter left England chasing shadows and a crowd of 4,000 was largely silenced by a run of nine straight points without reply.

The prospect looked alarming at the end of that first quarter. New Zealand had a 16-6 lead and were playing netball worthy of champions. In the second quarter England managed to limit the damage but too often they found themselves penalised for delaying the pass, so difficult did it prove to escape the attention of their markers. Even when they did get forward, chances were squandered as the shooter Tracy Miller struggled to find her best form.

Up front New Zealand had no such worries. Tracy Shortland, before going off at half-time after playing her last game for her country, worked cleverly off her goal attack partner Noeline Barnett, and England suffered.

A haka at the beginning — from New Zealand supporters — and a devastating all-round performance: it was all too familiar and left England not only bruised but with a championship record of fourth for the fourth successive tournament.

New Zealand, who take this game more seriously than anyone, can claim they are clearly third best. In private they might claim a little more.

Cryptic crossword by Logodaedalus

Across
1 Even a pirouette is completed in a state of panic (4,4)
5 Identified old vessel in the Sea (6)
9 Suitable father returns to post office place (8)
10 A lunatic: one in reversible raincoat (6)
11 My career could be ruined in this dairy shop (8)
12 Like a magpie with cold fodder to keep dry (6)
14 I'm very untidy — illegibly signed: Dr. No (4,6)
18 Girl swallows unusually bitter plant (10)
22 Outstanding one, first person to be recorded in jotter (6)
23 Interval is time to interrupt a knees-up (8)
24 Sweet that is expensive for starters (6)
25 I supply caviare for medical officer outside The Turk's Head (8)
26 Family in fund-raising event doing some gardening (6)
27 Humble workers finally put in cellar (8)

Down
1 He's engaged for tidying up in cafe (6)
2 Fruit drinks to swallow very softly (6)
3 Understand about boy requiring type of seed (6)
4 Report with line doctored should not have arrived (10)
6 Shift chair and see spider perhaps (8)
7 Is this plain? Eggs going down and up in weight (8)
8 Shorten uplumed cart used for ship-repairing (8)
13 Look at the wasp I distracted in this house plant! (10)
15 Slowly burn up manuscript, not so recent, about University (8)
16 My habit is to keep a note in a canvas bag (8)
17 Old boy meets large cat around six in darkness (8)
19 Leading lady, veil half visible, to perish (6)
20 Queen and former spouse put up in extra rooms (6)
21 Girl kept standing up by favourite type of butter (6)

Last week's solution

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